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Dr. PUSEY:

His Character and Life Work.

Rev. J. H. RIGG, D.D.

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THE

CHARACTER AND LIFE-WORK

OF

DR. PUSEY

A Sketch and Study

BY THE REV. JAMES H. RIGG, D.D.

AUTHOR OF 'MODERN ANGLICAN THEOLOGY, ETC. ETC.

London

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1883

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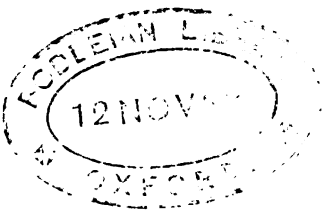

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PREFACE.

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THE substance of the following pages was originally published in successive numbers of a monthly journal.

Numerous and pressing requests for the republication of the papers, strengthened by the official request of the Publishing Committee of the Wesleyan Conference, have led me to cast what I had written into a somewhat different form, and publish it, with a small addition, in the present volume.

The aim of the volume is to bring out into full light the distinctive characteristics of Dr. Pusey's life-work as a Church leader within the National Church. The nation is asked to raise a great memorial to him. Let the people of England clearly understand on what account such a memorial is to be raised. Let them know what have been Dr. Pusey's special merits, what has been his particular work, and

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the peculiar influence which for forty years he wielded. In learning to know him better, they will also learn, in some measure, what is the present condition of a large section of the Church of England.

Dr. Pusey's *Commentaries on the Minor Prophets* are godly and edifying; they might have been written by a devout and enlightened Roman Catholic of the best school, or by a learned and devout Nonconformist. His *Lectures on Daniel* are learned and able. A German Catholic professor, or an Evangelical English Churchman of adequate ability and learning, might have written these. But the great mass of his voluminous writings, and the bent and influence of his entire personality, for forty years, were devoted to such ends as are shown in the following pages. His characteristic life-work was to Romanize the Church of England.

It is astonishing how little this fact has been realized during the last twenty years. In proportion as his work became pervasively influential, and although from his retirement he still presided over the whole Neo-Romanist movement, he himself in his relation to the movement was increasingly withdrawn from

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public observation. He became a sort of mythical personage, his great age and his reputation for sanctity concurring to produce this impression. And when he at length left the precincts of this earthly scene, the world of newspaper readers was prepared to applaud the proposal to rear a memorial to one who had retired from human view to be numbered with the 'mighty dead.' This was natural in generous England. But the generosity of England should be discriminating. The great Romanizer of his age should not be canonized by a nation which still boasts itself Protestant. The writer of this volume is no enemy of the Church of England. He desires nothing more than to see it great and influential, so long as it be not made the medium of diffusing Romanizing superstition. Such superstition has deeply infected the Church of England. At present this is England's greatest calamity, and Dr. Pusey, more than any other man, has contributed to this result.

JAMES H. RIGG.

July 12, 1883.

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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL VIEW OF DR. PUSEY'S DOCTRINE AND POSITION AS A CHURCH LEADER.

IT is not merely a curious question—What position in the history of the Church and of the world should be assigned to DR. PUSEY? The character of any age is, we know, moulded in part by the pressure of general tendencies of which the meaning is at the time little, if at all, understood, and the operation is for the most part unrecognised. But it is also determined largely by the direct influence of the men whom the age has chosen for its heroes, and of the characters of these men. And the age not seldom chooses its heroes blindly; not seldom also, even when they are in themselves more or less admirable, it admires them for reasons which by no means coincide with the grounds on which their true claims to admiration rest. When, therefore, the age has set up for itself false gods to worship, the generation that is in course of education is perverted and degraded accordingly. Or, even though the objects of popular admiration should really be great and noble, yet if the admiration bestowed is given rather to their faults

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or foibles than to their merits, the influence of such admiration cannot fail to react unfavourably on the generation which bestows it. Carlyle, not only by his *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, but by all his writings, did much to mislead Englishmen in this matter. The worship which he taught was justly and aptly described by Archdeacon Hare as 'Titanolatry,' the worship of Titans, of the strong, and stubborn, and wilful—for their strength, and stubbornness, and wilfulness. He could not indeed quite persuade Englishmen to bow down to his Prussian hero, Frederic. But he did much, nevertheless, to pervert their taste and habits of thought in the direction which has been indicated. At least they accepted Carlyle himself as one of their heroes; and in so doing they acted in good part on his own principles. It was not merely his force and insight as a writer that they admired; they admired also the uncouth ruggedness, the solitary defiance of fashion and the age, the uncompromising stubbornness and strength of will, the Ishmaelitish fierceness, of the aged recluse. And if the revelations of his private temper and life which have followed his death have been such as to lessen and lower his reputation all round, they may well teach us also how misleading were the principles of taste and moral judgment—learned in part from his own teaching—which had led Englishmen to exalt such a distempered Samson among moralists and historians into a hero.

Now the contrast is great between Carlyle and

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Pusey. Nevertheless the Titan-worshipping mania which Carlyle did so much to foster, has, in its craving for objects of idolatry, been attracted towards Pusey as towards Newman, for reasons not altogether unlike those of which I have spoken in general, as influencing the Titanolatrous multitude in the choice of its objects of veneration. Pusey and Newman were like each other in certain notable respects, however intellectually dissimilar. Both were men of stubborn strength and of resolute will. Both were leaders of an opposition party—a point which makes greatly in favour of a popular hero. Both retained their personal lead, their unshared place of power, their unique individuality, their intellectual force, to a very advanced age. Both accordingly have been adopted by popular feeling as heroes, although Dr. Newman is the more respected, because he. forsook Oxford and his great place among English High Churchmen, to seek and find his proper place in the Roman Communion; while Dr. Pusey was always regarded with more or less of suspicion by many, because, being at least as far advanced in his Romanizing as Newman was when he went over to Rome, he nevertheless remained all his life a Romanizing leader within the English Church. Both, however, were accepted very generally as heroes. Both have been invested with an altogether exaggerated nimbus of glory by their worshippers.

While Archdeacon Hare lived, indeed, he kept in check the admiration which incompetent critics were

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ready to bestow on the skilful historical perversions and on the specious sophistries for which, beyond most men of his time, Dr. Newman will stand condemned by the judgment of posterity. And, since the death of Archdeacon Hare, there have not been wanting a few critics—too few—to note the lamentable, I had almost said the ignominious, fact that this neo-scholastic pervert from the reasonable faith of free Christianity has, in his *Grammar of Assent*, surrendered to philosophical scepticism and agnosticism the whole domain of speculative thought, endeavouring to show that, save in the quasi-personal teaching and authority of 'the Church,' as represented by the 'Roman Unity,' there is no possible foothold for certitude or faith, whether as relating to things seen or unseen, to God or man, to revelation or morality. I may add, moreover, that although Dr. Newman was not so far fallen from his earlier self as to favour beforehand either the conciliar formulation of the Infallibility Dogma, or the antecedent Syllabus of Pope Pio Nono, still, in his letter to the Duke of Norfolk, in reply to the *Expostulation* of Mr. Gladstone, he has shown the same powers of historical mystification which excited the amazement of Archdeacon Hare; while Mr. Arthur, in his learned and valuable volumes on *The Pope, the Kings, and the People*, has exposed the great pervert's disingenuous shifts and evasions, and his unhistorical audacities, in a manner no less searching and powerful than polished and self-restrained. All this, however, has been

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unknown to the popular mind. On the other hand, sceptics have found so much in common between themselves and Dr. Newman, both in their philosophy, regarded simply as philosophy, and in their antagonism to evangelical and Protestant orthodoxy, and the rare charm of style of the *Apologia*, as well as its narrative interest, the dexterity of statement as well as the gentlemanly tone, have so far won on the literary world in general, that Dr. Newman has stood accredited to the public at large as not only very old, very able, and very unyielding, the distinguished chief of a famous schism, a man who has made history, but as a man to be sympathized with no less than to be admired. The result of the whole, in the crude form of impression in which such ideas take hold of the popular mind, is very injurious to the cause of Christian truth and to the principles of genuine faith and orthodoxy.

In the case of Dr. Pusey popular feeling has been more mixed than in the case of his early comrade. He has been still more venerated by his admirers than even Newman ever was by any circle of votaries except those who have surrounded him at the Oratory. But, as the undeniable head of the Romanizing party in the Church of England, and especially as the patron and advocate of the Confessional as an organized institution within the Church, Dr. Pusey has deeply and widely offended the Protestant feeling of the country. Still, on the other hand, his saintliness of character, the consistency of his course,

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his power and influence as a preacher, the simplicity of his life, his personal rank and standing as an English gentleman of large estate and ancient blood, his Hebrew scholarship and vast theological learning, the excellence of his commentaries on Old Testament prophecy, and his powerful championship of canonical Scripture against modern criticism, have combined to secure for him, far beyond the limits of his own section of the Anglican Church, deep personal respect. When to these considerations we add the fact of his venerable age, united, as it seems to have been nearly to the last, with almost unabated force of mind and character, it is not wonderful that during the last period of his life, a growing consensus of public opinion was disposed to concede to Dr. Pusey the title and status of a venerable and heroic man. Still less is it to be wondered at that, since his death, English High Churchmen seem to be agreed in the resolution to commemorate his life and history in the most impressive and far-reaching manner, recognising in him the great exemplary Churchman, at once saint and doctor and leader, of the nineteenth century.

Nor can it be a pleasant task, to any one with a spark of generosity in his nature, to assign reasons for disallowing the claims thus set up on Dr. Pusey's behalf for regarding him as an exemplary Churchman and as a great benefactor to his age. Yet this is what I must do in this volume. Whatever may have been his personal piety, I cannot regard Dr. Pusey otherwise than as the most influential teacher of the

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deadliest error which, under cover of an orthodox creed, could possibly be propagated within our National Church,—error the necessary tendencies of which must be towards the intellectual degradation and towards the demoralization of the English nation. Such a man may have had fine points of character; but, as an individual whole, as a chief and leader among his fellows and followers as an English Churchman, he ought not to be admired. He ought not, however personally devoted he may have been, to be canonized as a saint in the annals of a Reformed and Evangelical communion, still less to be recognised as a hero by the people of a free country, which abhors the memory of Romish superstitions and corruptions.

Doubtless, if in the annals of the Roman Catholic Church an Englishman, brought up, like the living Lord Howard of Glossop, within that pale, had become pre-eminent in the sight of all men for such charity, such consecration of life, such learning, such ability in the devotional exposition of prophecy, such power in coping with rationalistic criticism, as have belonged to Dr. Pusey, there would have been no large-hearted and enlightened English Protestant but would have regarded such a man with unmixed esteem and even reverence; but the fact that Dr. Pusey was bred an English Churchman and was ordained a priest of the Church of England, deprives him, as holding and teaching the essential doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, of all

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claim to the veneration of an English evangelical Christian.

For many years past Dr. Pusey's doctrinal views have been more distinctly and more advancedly Romanizing than were those of Dr. Newman when he found himself unable with integrity of conscience to remain any longer within the pale of the Church of England. For forty years Dr. Pusey remained within the Church of England, holding such views. The truth of this statement, very well known to all who have followed the controversy since the Tractarian period, I shall have the opportunity presently of proving. Just now I am explaining the point of view from which I write. I admire and revere Pascal and Fénélon, but I cannot reverence, or, on the whole, admire Dr. Pusey, the English heresiarch, although, had he been a member of the Church of Rome, I might have felt that he deserved a place by the side of such Roman Catholics as I have named. I greatly admire Dr. Döllinger; but although his opinions and those of Dr. Pusey would seem, at most points, very closely to agree, not admiration, but profound sorrow, is the feeling which prevails when I think of Dr. Pusey. But for certain Star-Chamber proceedings, I should indeed think Archbishop Laud a fitter object for the admiration of Englishmen than Dr. Pusey. A loyal Irish citizen and subject may find matter of sympathy, perhaps even of admiration, in the character and course of Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

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Nevertheless, he holds him to have been no patriot hero, but a dangerous rebel. And if the distinctive doctrines of Romanism be, as evangelical Protestants have not ceased yet to consider them, pernicious corruptions of the highest and holiest truth, soul-degrading superstitions; if their direct tendency, as a whole, is to demoralize society, to pervert conscience, to undermine the peace of families, to blight the inner life of all who come fully under their influence, then the man who, beyond all others, has during the last forty years contributed to the revival and spread among the people of England of the essential doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church, ought neither to be canonized as a saint nor to be exalted as a hero, except by those who are either Romanists themselves, or are sharers in the widespread conspiracy which aims at transforming the Anglican Church into a branch of the 'Western Catholic Church.'

How real the danger is on this side, and how far the process of perversion has proceeded, at least among an active and influential section of the clergy, is, I am persuaded, not generally understood. I have never been regarded as an alarmist on this subject. If I were to be charged with bigotry, whether as a Protestant in relation to Roman Catholics, or an evangelical Broad-Churchman in relation to High Churchmen, it would be a new charge, and one which my writings up to the present time might easily be cited to disprove;

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but yet I feel very deeply the peril to Scriptural Christianity, and to the free intelligence of the national mind and character, which is involved in the recent growth of extreme sacramental and auricular confessionalist High Churchmanship, a growth to which the ascendency of Dr. Pusey's influence has greatly contributed, and which is likely to be very greatly promoted if his name be allowed to pass unquestioned into the highest place among the saints, divines and leaders of the Established Church of England during the present century. And that, in effect, is the position which is claimed for Dr. Pusey by the Marquis of Salisbury, speaking as the natural leader of the High Church laity of England, and by High Churchmen generally. It is under the high sanction of such a claim, so supported, that it is proposed to found a Pusey Library at Oxford, as a memorial of the great High Churchman's life and work.

About ten years ago, I had a conversation at my own house with a High Churchman, which it would not be easy to forget. I was on terms of friendly acquaintance with this gentleman, and was visited by him on several occasions. He held at that time a public position of no mean distinction and influence. Now for some years he has occupied a dignified office in the Church only inferior to the episcopate. We conversed frankly about points of doctrine, he being confessedly at the Anti-Protestant pole. At length I asked him plainly whether, except upon points of

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ecclesiastical order and relationship, there was any one tenet which he regarded as essential to the Church of Rome from which he dissented. His answer was an explicit, *No. So far as he knew, none.* At that time this gentleman was a parish priest; some time afterwards he was promoted—as I have intimated—to a much more influential and dignified position, where he now does all that lies fairly within his power to encourage Romanizing ritualism. This is the class of clergymen represented by Dr. Pusey's name and teachings. There are many of them apparently more advanced in their ritualising than this clergyman; there are, as I believe, very few much less advanced in their inner doctrine. Certainly the views of my acquaintance coincided strictly with those of Dr. Pusey. And the views held by Dr. Pusey and by such clergymen, find their most significant and compendious practical expression in the introduction, wherever such men dare, and as far as they dare, of the 'Sacrament,' as they call it, 'of confession and absolution.'

Confession and the confessional. Private confession to a priest in order to absolution. Here we have the centre and one of the most characteristic features of Dr. Pusey's High Churchmanship, as he would have had it universally developed. And therefore it is not fit that any true friend of Christianity, or of our national well-being, should 'bless' his memory; even though it should be admitted that he was too sincerely pious a man, in his own way, for any charitable soul

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to 'ban' his name. Samuel Taylor Coleridge will not be charged by any one with anything like Protestant bigotry. Yet let us hear his words as to the system of Roman doctrine and discipline: 'When I contemplate the whole system, as it affects the great fundamental principles of morality, the *terra firma*, as it were, of our humanity; then trace its operation on the sources and conditions of national strength and well-being; and lastly, consider its woful influence on the innocence and morality of the female mind and imagination, on the faith and happiness, the gentle fragrancy and unnoticed ever-present verdure of domestic life—I can with difficulty avoid applying to it what the rabbins fable of the fratricide Cain, after the curse, that the *firm earth trembled wherever he strode, and the grass turned black beneath his feet.*'[1] And of this system—the system of which Coleridge utters these terrible words of sober truth—the doctrines of baptismal regeneration and of sacramental confession, as Dr. Pusey spent his life in teaching them, are the centre and the spring.

In saying all this, I by no means question Dr. Pusey's personal godliness. He was a good man, whose own experience of the Christian life bound him by vital sympathies to Christians professing and adorning the doctrines of our own Methodist Church as to the work of the Holy Spirit in the progressive sanctification of Christian believers. Still less do I question his personal honesty, although he had

[1] *Biog. Lit.*, vol. i. pp. 131, 132.

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graduated in a system and school of subtle construction, alike of doctrinal formularies and of ecclesiastical prescriptions and regulations, such as naturally awakened in many minds the suspicion of Jesuitical casuistry and double-dealing. Nothing, indeed, is more certain than that he had, for forty years, as I have already stated, held more advanced Romanizing doctrine than was held by Dr. Newman when he left the English Church for Rome. But yet he never felt himself to be near Rome at all. His early friend explains the reason of this. He testifies that Dr. Pusey had 'a hopeful, sanguine mind,' and was 'haunted by no intellectual perplexities.' When his own party had advanced, as Dr. Newman witnesses, 'a considerable way in the direction of Rome,' Dr. Pusey was still rejoicing in the extraordinary confidence and conviction that 'among its hopeful peculiarities was its stationariness.' He made a statement to this effect 'in good faith,' Dr. Newman assures us; and it might almost seem to need high authority to give us assurance in such a case. This 'was his subjective view of it.' Dr. Newman himself had never seen 'any symptoms' which could lead him to expect that Dr. Pusey would do as he himself 'had done.'[1]

Dr. Pusey, in short, has not been governed in his conclusions by considerations of logical consistency. He did not perceive their force. He was essentially Romanist in dogma, and yet thoroughly Anglican in predilection and sympathy, according to his own con-

[1] Newman's *Apologia*, p. 138.

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ception of what high and proper Anglicanism was, according to the Anglicanism of Andrewes and Bramhall and Laud.

A man, indeed, who could believe as Dr. Pusey professed to believe in his famous sermon on the Eucharist, might have believed any quantity of self-contradictions. His special doctrine of the Real Presence, the Puseyite Consubstantiation, is yet more uncouthly self-contradictory than the Romish doctrine of Transubstantiation, as to the absurdities of which Jeremy Taylor says so many biting and witty things, the like of which if any one had said of Dr. Pusey's doctrine, he would have been solemnly accused by the earnest and unhesitating devotee of profanity or even blasphemy.[1] But notwithstanding its self-contradictions, which he contrived to get over by means of that merely verbal logic which can find its way out of any dilemma, because the verbal distinctions are mistaken for realities, Dr. Pusey believed wholly and absolutely in his doctrine of Consubstantiation. This may teach us that Dr. Pusey might, as indeed he did, believe many spiritual truths in common with the evangelically orthodox, and yet go to the length of Tridentine Popery in his divergence from the common principles of English Protestantism.

But the case of Dr. Pusey is not merely that of a distinguished and able clergyman holding erroneous and unevangelical opinions; it is the case of an able and influential teacher and organizer inculcating and

[1] See the Preface to Dr. Pusey's *Sermon on the Eucharist.*

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propagating ideas and practices which are of a morally pernicious character—equally opposed to the true glory and sole prerogative of God, and to the proper dignity and morality of man. In the preface, for example, to his first sermon on *Entire Absolution to the Penitent*, referring to penitents, he says: 'They wish to be, and to know that they are, in a state of grace. God has provided a means, however deeply they have fallen, to replace them in it.' And then he explains what is the means so provided of God. 'By His absolving sentence,' he says, 'God does efface the past.' But, inasmuch as they 'cannot estimate their own repentance and faith, God has provided physicians of the soul to relieve and judge for those who "open their griefs" to them.' Such was Dr. Pusey's doctrine. It is not the Spirit of God, the 'Spirit of adoption,' imparted from above to the penitent and believing suppliant, that delivers from the 'spirit of bondage unto fear.' It is the voice of the priest-physician, declaring 'the absolving sentence' of God, whereby He 'effaces the past.' It is the priest-physician who judicially 'estimates the repentance and faith' of the penitent, who 'judges for' and, when he is satisfied, 'relieves those who open their griefs' to him. As the priest, under the Mosaic law, examined the leper, and either pronounced him clean, or sent him back to his seclusion as unclean, so the Anglican priest, the Anglican 'physician,' according to Dr. Pusey's doctrine of faith and salvation, examines and judges as to the state of

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the penitent, and either 'estimates' his repentance and faith to be sufficient, and accordingly restores him to the congregation of the faithful, declaring, as God's voice, that the 'past is effaced,' or else judges them to be insufficient, and sends him back to prolonged penance, with direction to return and submit himself for judgment on a future day.

What is to be said as to such teaching as this? With what prerogative of heart-searching does it invest the priest! 'I the Lord . . . try the reins,' so we read in Scripture. But here it is the parish priest who 'searches the hearts and tries the reins of the children of men.' This is the provision whereby we common, unordained sinners, coming to the young curate of our parish, who was ordained priest last week, may be assured, 'however deeply we have fallen,' that we are restored, may be made to 'know that we are in a state of grace.' This is 'the means which God has provided.' One shrinks from using the only words which can truly describe such teaching as this. To a serious thinker, who comes fresh from the contemplation of the Divine majesty and grace to the view of this dogma, it is a hard thing to refrain from whispering to himself the question, 'But is this less than blasphemy—to invest poor frail young mortals, fresh from college, with such attributes as these?' While to the man who comes direct from personal intercourse, in flesh and blood and broadcloth, with the priests and 'physicians' of whom this great Churchman speaks, the pretensions

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set up on their behalf cannot but appear ludicrous in their absurdity. Indeed, but for the intrinsic impiety of these claims, they might be expected to dissolve amid 'inextinguishable laughter.'

And yet Dr. Pusey was a good man, however lamentably in error. Some of his own words may fitly be quoted here: 'We should not think the comparative holiness of these men any test as to the truth of any one characteristic doctrine. Holiness (whether produced in the teacher or the taught) proves the presence of *some* truth, not of the whole truth, nor the purity of that truth.' Like many others, he was happily better than his creed. Like many others, also, who are better than their creed, his working faith was better than his teaching. He held, doubtless, much truth implicitly or unconsciously which he could not, or even would not, have explicitly defined and confessed. My business, however, in these papers, is not so much with his personal and private goodness as with his doctrine and his influence as a public teacher and leader.

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CHAPTER II.

DR. PUSEY'S EARLIEST PHASE OF THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT AS A LIBERAL PROTESTANT CHURCHMAN. 1826–1832.

EDWARD BOUVERIE PUSEY was of the Radnor family, his father, half-brother of the first Earl, having assumed by royal licence the name of Pusey. The Bouveries are of Flemish extraction, not, however, without a strain of German blood. They settled in England, first at Canterbury, more than three centuries ago. By peaceful arts of commerce they rose to wealth and distinction. For a century and a half the Bouveries have been counted among the aristocracy of England. The maternal name of Pusey, with the Pusey estates, came as an inheritance to Dr. Pusey's father. Edward Bouverie was the younger son, and was born at Pusey House, a mansion situated in Berkshire, twelve miles from Oxford, near a hamlet consisting of some dozen cottages, and in the midst of a sandy region timbered mostly with fir-trees. Here through life was his study and his home; his Fellowship first, and afterwards his Professorship and his canonry, being at Oxford, where the pulpit of Christ

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Church, sometimes exchanged for St. Mary's, was his place of power. He inherited the family estates on the death of his brother Philip, and he lived at his paternal home, the ancestral seat of his grandmother's family. He died, however, at a Cottage Retreat near Ascot, to which he was accustomed to retire when he sought perfect privacy. He was eighty-two years old, having been born in 1800.

Within a mile of Pusey House lived Berington, the Roman Catholic historian, who died in 1827, with the parish clergyman's wife at his bedside. Not far away was the seat of the old Roman Catholic family of Throckmorton, who were friends as well as neighbours of the Puseys. Thus Roman Catholic influences mingled with his home life. He was also well known in the neighbourhood of Alcester, as a visitor at the beautiful Warwickshire residence of the Throckmortons, Coughton Court. Oxford was, of course, his *alma mater*, and Christ Church was his College, where he gained a first class in classics in 1822. In 1824 he was translated to Oriel, and became one of the splendid galaxy of scholars and thinkers which made that College more famous at that time than any other in England, an Oriel Fellowship having been given him in that year. John Henry Newman was next above him among the junior Fellows. Keble, Tyler, Whately, Hawkins, and Jelf were of the circle; Copleston was Provost, soon to be succeeded by Hawkins. In 1828, Pusey, who had already addicted himself to Hebrew scholar-

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ship in an age when such learning was almost unknown among English Churchmen, was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew, a post to which is attached a Canonry of Christ Church, the Cathedral of the See.

In 1826, however, — two years before Pusey received this appointment, — he had shown his earnestness as a student, and his characteristic decision and thoroughness of purpose, by visiting Germany in order to master and digest the learning of that country. The result remains in two remarkable publications: one, *An Historical Enquiry into the Probable Causes of the Rationalist Character lately predominant in the Theology of Germany*, to which is prefixed a Letter from Professor Sack upon the Rev. H. J. Rose's *Discourses on German Protestantism*, translated from the German; the other, under the same general title, *Part II., containing an Explanation of the Views misconceived by Mr. Rose, and Further Illustrations.* The former of these publications issued from Messrs. Rivingtons' house in 1828, before its author had received his appointments as Professor and Canon. The latter part, which is much the larger of the two, was published in 1830, when Pusey, who had married in 1828, had ceased to be a Fellow of Oriel.

It is said that Dr. Pusey for many years before his death endeavoured to suppress these pamphlets, destroying or impounding such as he could get hold of. There may be no truth in this report, but the nature of the publications lends some colour to it, as does

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the fact that, in his will, he forbade their republication. The report, however, may have originated simply and solely from the contrast which the *Historical Enquiry* offers, at various points, to the general strain and tendency of Dr. Pusey's later publications, especially some of them. It is singular indeed that the author of this *Enquiry* should also be the author of the well-known Letter in opposition to the project of the Jerusalem Bishopric, in which the association of the English Church with German Lutheranism is so vehemently opposed, both on ecclesiastical and theological grounds. The *Enquiry* is learned, candid, philosophical, and of a catholic spirit. In it not only does he 'set down naught in malice,' when sketching the history of German theology since the time of Luther and accounting for its existing condition, but he appears disposed, as far as possible, to extenuate its rationalistic tendencies. Of Tholuck he speaks in the highest terms of appreciation as a Christian theologian and a personal friend, and not less so of Neander, whom he describes as 'a divine of very deep piety, comprehensive views, and genuine orthodoxy.' He highly eulogizes Twesten. Of earlier Lutheran divines he especially exalts Spener, quoting largely from him, and placing him in the first rank of historic names as a wise, saintly, and orthodox minister and Church leader. And even for men like Semler, largely tinctured with rationalism, he has words—thoughtful and persuasive — of candid and considerate apology.

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The *Enquiry*, indeed, was, as its title suggests, intended as an indirect reply to the Rev. Hugh James Rose's well-known *Discourses on German Rationalism*, in which Mr. Rose attributes the deplorable heterodoxy so prevalent in Germany largely to three causes: the want of diocesan episcopacy, with its controlling force; the absence of 'the binding power of the Articles;' and the want of such a liturgy as that of the English Church. Dr. Pusey, on the other hand, maintains that the chief cause of German Rationalism was the oppressive weight upon the German mind and conscience of an enforced submission to theological definitions and distinctions full of subtleties and difficulties, and not seldom of a very puerile description, imposed by ecclesiastical authority after Melanchthon and his contemporaries had passed away, and for the most part during the seventeenth century. From this 'dead orthodoxism,' as he calls it, and all the servile formalism connected with it; from the tyranny of 'the letter,' when spiritual life and power had fallen into decay; from the bondage of many formularies, often of an obscure and doubtful quality, there was, as Dr. Pusey teaches, a natural, not to say necessary reaction, which reached its climax about the beginning of this century.

For such a reaction, arising from such causes, he seems to be more disposed to apologize than for the quasi-scholasticism and the barren and heartless 'orthodoxism' which preceded it. Indeed, he distinctly expresses his own belief and hope that this

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rationalism would on the whole have the beneficial effect of sweeping away the unprofitable subtleties, and of exposing the hollowness of the dead formalism of the ages preceding, and thus of preparing the way for a 'new æra' in Germany of revived religious earnestness, and of true and fruitful theological thought. Of this new era he saw, or thought he saw, already the beginning. Hence, in the title of his *Enquiry*, he speaks of the rationalist character *lately predominant* in the theology of Germany.

But what it is perhaps most important to note here is, that throughout these pamphlets the future Romanizing leader speaks as a decided Protestant. He speaks, for example, of 'the immortal heroes, the mighty agents of the Reformation.' He distinguishes between the 'essential principles and doctrines of Protestantism,' and those 'subtleties in the Lutheran system which the human mind ought never to have entertained.'

He says that, 'with due restrictions, it is not unbecoming to show how some of the grievous errors of the Roman Church contributed to the glorious bursting of the light which shone at the Reformation;' as also, 'how when by men's fault this light had been anew obscured in Germany, God allowed the chill, dark night of Rationalism to prepare for the living rays of the Sun of Righteousness.' He speaks with absolute agreement of the Reformers' 'great tenet,' that Scripture is the only authoritative source of true knowledge, and 'their rule—or rather,' as

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he says, 'the Biblical rule that Scripture is its own interpreter.' He laments that 'these principles of interpretation were forgotten, this pre-eminence of Scriptural above human systems strangely reversed by the successors of the Reformers;' and that 'Scriptural interpretation, instead of being the mistress and guide, became the handmaid of doctrinal theology.' He objects against Mr. Rose's work that 'the view supported in it involved the abandonment of the fundamental principles in Protestantism, and derogated from the independence and the inherent power of the Word of God.' In favour of his own view, 'that Scripture needs no adscititious means to preserve its healthful truths from such corruption as would neutralize their efficacy,' he alleges that 'for above two centuries no symbols[1] at all were received in the early Church, and that even when heretical speculation did render such safeguards necessary in individual cases, they were extended no further than the emergency of such cases required.'

Throughout this *Enquiry*, he speaks habitually of the 'Roman,' the 'English,' or the 'German' Church, and of 'Churches' generally besides those calling themselves 'Catholic,' as the occasion seems to require; no exclusive epithet, no employment of the word 'Catholic' as is now customary among High Churchmen to distinguish 'Apostolic' and Episcopal Communions, being found in the *Enquiry* from first to last.

[1] That is, authoritative doctrinal formularies.

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At the same time it is evident that he does not write as an English Low Churchman might have written. He refers without disapproval to the Lutheran practice of confession, as this practice had been in use in the earlier and better times of Lutheranism. He mentions in particular the fact that the saintly Spener was the confessor of the Elector of Saxony, observing, however, that because of the growing hollowness and formalism of the times, Spener was thankful to retire from his confessorial office. In short, Dr. Pusey, throughout this remarkable first-fruits of his theological studies, writes as a learned English divine of the moderate High Church school, whose views had been enlarged and liberalized by intercourse with the best and ablest Continental divines, might have been expected to write fifty or sixty years ago. This, however, was his first and last appearance before the English theological world in such a character. Within a very few years after the publication of the second part of the *Enquiry* (1830), he took his rank among the Tract writers of Oxford. His Tract on Fasting bears the date December 21, 1833, being one of the earliest of the Tractarian series, of which the first had been published in the autumn of that year. His famous Tract (No. 67) on Baptism, appears to have been written in 1835, and to have been published, at least in part, in the same year. This tract grew into a large volume, in which form it is still on sale, in its fourth edition.

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It contains, explicitly or implicitly, all the essential features of its author's theology as developed in later years. It lays distinctly and fully the foundation of the Neo-Romanism of our modern Anglicanism.

It is a curious and perplexing question how it came to pass that, within three or four years, Dr. Pusey had advanced from the position of a liberal, I might almost say a latitudinarian English Churchman of the elder school, to that taken up by Newman and Froude and the original authors of the Oxford Tractarian movement, with whom he certainly was not numbered at the first, although he began to contribute, as we have seen, to their series of Tracts within a few months after its commencement. In Dr. Pusey's case there was not, as in that of Newman, any reaction from a narrow evangelical nurture and schooling. And yet the change of aspect and tendency in the case of Pusey was more sudden and more swift than in that of Newman, who has himself, in his *Apologia*, described the steps by which he passed, in the course of eight or ten years, from the Evangelical to the Tractarian position. In the case of Newman, the one conviction and experience which remained with him unshaken and unchanged, through all his transformations of opinion, was that of his own personal conversion, in the evangelical sense. In the case of Dr. Pusey it would seem that personal asceticism, earnest spiritual sympathies, and a high ideal of holiness, both

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contemplative and practical, were, from the beginning of his ministerial course, among his most prominent characteristics; that these marked his personal identity throughout whatever may have been his changes or developments of opinion.

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CHAPTER III.

RAPID TRANSITION TO EXTREME ANGLO-CATHOLIC VIEWS.

PROBABLY the cause of Pusey's transformation from a Liberal into a High Churchman, was the same which seems to have operated on all the men of the Tractarian school. They all alike found themselves, by the character of the age's culture, by the phase of historico-philosophical investigation which had long taken form in Germany and was beginning to give law and character to the historical studies of the English Universities, compelled to face the question as to the historical continuity and unity of the Christian Church. It has, indeed, been assigned to the Tractarian school by Professor Shairp as its most distinctive merit, that it has recognised, and compelled others to recognise, this fact of the Church's historic unity. This view, however, can by no means be sustained. The school of Neander in Germany has not been without its correlative school in this country. Coleridge, at bottom, held views altogether incompatible with the principles of the Tractarian school, and he it was who first taught

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England of the nineteenth century the great and deep meaning of the historic unity of Christendom, regarded as the new life of the world, and as the compendium of all the true powers and forces of the world's advance. And since his time, such men as Whately and Arnold, Thirlwall and Hare, Milman and Merivale, to name no others, have not had to learn from the Tractarian school at Oxford the grand lessons which belong to the historic life and development of Christianity.

What has distinguished the Oxford school is not that it has taught the last and present generations the great fact of the Church's historic unity, but that it has altogether misunderstood the meaning of that unity, and has drawn from its mistaken views false and pernicious deductions. The whole difference between evangelical truth and liberty on the one hand, and bondage to Popish superstition and corruption on the other, lies just here. If the historic unity and continuity of Christianity be rightly defined and understood, defined and understood in harmony with the spiritual character of the Church of Christ, the Gospel remains in its integrity and purity, and the law of the Gospel remains the law of liberty in Christ Jesus. If the historic unity and continuity be defined in accordance with the views of ecclesiastical externalism, there is no logical escape from the dominion of Rome. Here is the watershed which divides two systems of ecclesiastical and theological thought and obedience. Here is the

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difference between the citizenship of the 'Jerusalem above,' which is 'free,' and of the Jerusalem of the Roman Unity, which 'is in bondage, with her children.'

There are, in fact, three ways of understanding and explaining the unity and historic continuity of the Christian Church. One of these finds the unity and continuity of the Church in the perpetuation of its orders and organization—in an external and officially-organized identity. That way, for Western Christendom at least, leads straight to Rome. Another finds the unity and continuity of the Church in the unity and continuity of Christendom, as expressed and manifested generally by national confessions, by a common Christian consciousness, and by various Christian communions and organizations. This is the Broad Church view; and, in England, has been set forth with consummate ability and subtlety in Maurice's *Kingdom of Christ*. According to this view, the Church is little else than the world claiming to be Christian. The third way is that which regards the one true and perpetual Church of Christ as Christ's 'body' of true believers, distributed among the various professedly Christian communions, and of whom some individuals may even conceivably be apart from any organized Christian community, but who all, by living faith and the true sanctification of the Holy Ghost, are joined in one Spirit to their living Head, Jesus Christ. This is the view which is held generally by evangelical Nonconformists

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and by thoroughly evangelical Churchmen, and which has also been held by many Continental divines of the most profound spiritual intelligence and insight; such, for example, as Vinet in recent times. The succession of mystics of the better side, among whom have been found in the darkest ages the most blessed saints, and of German Pietists who, in the worst days of dead Lutheran faith and formalism, kept alive the light and tradition of living Christian experience in Germany, have ever held to this view of the Church's unity. And this is the only view to be maintained by those who are not prepared either to follow the ecclesiastical externalists to Rome, or to embrace the universalising Broad Churchism, which regards the self-same aggregate of individuals as either Church or World, according as the 'light which lighteth' each man, or the darkness and confusion which also belong to each, may happen to be thought of.

Now it is one of the peculiar features of the Anglican, as of the Romish, school of religious thought, that, with exceedingly rare exceptions, no view of the Church has ever seemed to be even conceivable among its adherents, which did not find the identity and unity of the Church in some external marks and some sort of official continuity and succession. Evangelical Churchmen, such as Stanley Faber, have striven to trace the continuity of the external line of succession, apart from Rome, among Churches which might seem to be more or less independent of that See, or Churches stigmatized

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and persecuted as heretical.[1] But this involves a difficult and precarious argument. Besides other objections which seem to me to be fatal to it as a theory, it involves this difficulty, which is perhaps more serious, as it is more obvious than any other, that notwithstanding all the errors and corruptions of Rome, there were always, even in the darkest times, more living members of Christ, in absolute number, scattered over the vast fields of the Roman Catholic communion, more individual souls that belonged to the unity of Christ's mystical body, than could have been found among those other Churches. Nor is this all. On the basis of the externalist view, what is to be said as to the Eastern Church? Is that also, like the Roman Catholic Church, to be disinherited of the churchly character—to be dis-churched? Certainly, although happily for itself not precluded from internal self-reformation by Papal bulls, or by 'infallible' decrees, yet in respect of general superstition and even idolatry and of prevalent demoralization, the Eastern Church would seem to have been from a very early period in a lower state than even the Roman Catholic Church. Yet I hardly imagine that any evangelical expounder and upholder of the externalist view of Church identity and continuity would argue for the unchurching of the Greek Catholic Church. But, if not, it would also seem to be impossible to disinherit the whole Western Catholic Church.

[1] Such, for example, as the Vaudois and the Albigenses.

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Dr. Pusey, accordingly, like Newman, Froude, and Robert Wilberforce, embraced and held fast the only view logically possible on the externalist hypothesis of the Church's identity and continuity. The historical dilemma being presented to him, this was the alternative which he chose and stedfastly adhered to, going all lengths except that of actual secession to Rome. All essential Roman doctrine he after a while found himself able to accept, although he condemned much of the popular Roman practice; all essential Roman doctrine, except, indeed, that of the supreme and binding authority of the Bishop of Rome and of the latest conciliar developments of Popery, whether doctrinal or ecclesiastical. He imagined that he saved his own consistency by the distinction which he drew between that which is proper to the Roman Catholic Church, as apart from the Papal usurpations, and those usurpations themselves. The Anglican Church he, like the rest of his school, regarded as a sister Catholic Church to that of Rome, both churches inheriting, each collaterally, from the same common stock, the Anglican being, indeed, the third chord in the trinal unity of the Roman, Greek, and English Churches; and, in fact, the chord whose office it was to bring into blending symphony and to make manifest the essential harmony which united the three.

These are the views which underlie, and, indeed, are to a large extent disclosed and expounded in Pusey's *Eirenicon*. They inspired his whole life.

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They formed a broad foundation for the claims which he made on behalf of his own Church. They harmonized with his ecclesiastical position and pretensions; they lent consistency and force to his policy; they seemed at times almost to invest with a certain greatness his position and attitude. But after all, these views were false, and the pretensions built upon them were an imposture—a soul-degrading and God-dishonouring imposture. This externalism rendered indispensable the figment of the apostolical succession and the dogmas of necessary sacramental efficacy. It was necessary to the theory which Dr. Pusey had embraced, that salvation should be made to flow, regularly and necessarily, through the channels of the one exclusively authorized Church. The priests of the 'succession' must appear as being the authorized, the only, and, if they but will and mean it, the necessary and unfailing channels of grace to those who, with a full belief in their power and their monopoly, come to them for salvation. Hence the dogmas of baptismal regeneration, through the act of the priest, and sacramental salvation, through the reception of the elements, which these priests have, by their consecration, made vital, soul-saving, and divine, were tenets necessary to be held by Dr. Pusey and all his school. Dr. Pusey, considering his former theological training, might well, one would think, have shrunk from embracing such doctrines as these. But it may have been that the alternative to

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him seemed to lie between accepting all this priestly transcendentalism, or going the whole length of the German rationalism of which he had seen both the fascination and the deadly peril, and within which it is hardly too much to believe that he had been well-nigh entangled.

One thing is certain, that Dr. Pusey swallowed once for all the whole system of theurgical superstition which now forms the characteristic doctrine of ritualising High Churchmanship. Having put his hand to the plough, he never looked back. He gave his lifelong and unhesitating adhesion to that system of teaching by which the saving influences of the Divine Spirit are represented as if they were, in some sense at once physical and hyperphysical, at once material and spiritual, incorporated with the ecclesiastical organization to which he belonged. Of his adhesion to this school he gave the pledge and the first-fruits, not so much by his Tract on Fasting, in 1833, as by that on Baptism, in 1835, five short years after he had published the second part of his *Enquiry* in answer to Mr. Rose.

His accession added great strength to the nascent Tractarian party. Newman and Froude were able, astute, and daring—daring almost to recklessness. But these bachelor Fellows being men of no school, were also men of no social position, and had at this time no solid influence. For a while, at least, they unsettled and alarmed more powerfully than they attracted or persuaded. Robert Wilberforce was a

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man of calmer temperament, more cautious, more sober and inductive in his habits of thought, an altogether unambitious, student-like man; but he had no controlling weight and little power to lead. What Pusey did for the new movement is told by Newman himself. After saying that he had known him since 1827 or 1828—although elsewhere he says that he had first been intimate with him in 1823—and after speaking of his 'enthusiastic admiration for him,' he bears the following testimony as to the value of his name and influence to himself and his partners in that Tractarian movement which he—Newman—'had begun out of his own head.' Newman says of Pusey:—

'His great learning, his immense diligence, his scholar-like mind, his simple devotion to the cause of religion overcame me; and great was my joy when in the last days of 1833 he showed a disposition to make common cause with us. . . Without him we should have had no chance, especially at the early date of 1834, of making any serious resistance to the Liberal aggression. But Dr. Pusey was a Professor and Canon of Christ Church; he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connections, and his easy relations with the University authorities. . . There was henceforth a man who could be the head and centre of the zealous people in every part of the country who were adopting the new opinions; and not only so, there was one who furnished the movement with a front to the world, and gained for it a recognition from other parties in the University.'

In 1829, when Newman, Froude, and Wilberforce ranged themselves on the side of Sir R. H. Inglis in the University election contest, and against Sir R. Peel, these three were 'but individuals,' possessing no collective character or influence. But in 1833–34, when Dr. Pusey joined Newman and his fellows,

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'he was able to give a name, a form, and a personality to what without him was a sort of mob.' Rightfully, therefore, was the Tractarian movement almost from this time known by the title *Puseyism*. Pusey, moreover, not only gave the party a designation and a conspicuous status and position; he held it together as no one else could have done by his sanguine stedfastness — a stedfastness that would never recognise defeat or yield to discouragement. For, to quote Newman again, he 'was a man of large designs; he had a hopeful, sanguine mind, he was haunted by no intellectual perplexities.'

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CHAPTER IV.

DR. PUSEY AS A PREACHER.

DR. NEWMAN has told us how Dr. Pusey, in joining the Tractarian party, at once became its stay and centre. It must be noted, also, though Dr. Newman makes no reference to this, that he was already a famous and powerful preacher. If Mr. Mozley's reminiscences are not, as to this point, hopelessly confused, it must have been before he published Tract No. 67, on *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism*, that Pusey preached his remarkable sermon—Mozley calls it his 'great sermon'—on *Sin After Baptism*, from Heb. vi. 4–6. Mr. Mozley says: 'It was at Christ Church, and every corner of the church was filled. One might have heard a pin drop. Every word told. The key-note was the word "irreparable," pronounced every now and then with the force of a judgment.' Mr. Mozley adds, 'I have not read the sermon, nor have I read the explanatory *Tract for the Times* on the subject. I have only my recollections.' The sermon may have been printed, but I cannot discover that it was ever published. It is not contained in any volume of Dr. Pusey's sermons, nor have I

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been able to find it anywhere described as separately published, though I have searched in the British Museum. I have not seen anywhere any definite reference to it as a publication, or any quotation from it. In Bishop Wilberforce's *Life* there are many casual references to Pusey's special views on this subject, but the only reference made by the Bishop which is interpreted by the biographer as precise is misinterpreted. Writing to his brother Robert, in April 1839, Samuel Wilberforce says, 'Have you seen Pusey's *Defence?* I have read half. I think some parts very good and effective, some remarkably unsatisfactory. That about Sin after Baptism, marvellous. That about sacraments more than two, special pleading and quibbling of which I could not have believed Pusey capable.' The biographer explains that this passage refers to a 'Defence which Dr. Pusey had put forth of his Tract on *Sin after Baptism;*' and in a footnote further explains that this Tract was No. 67 of the *Tracts for the Times.* But this explanation will not hold water. For though Dr. Pusey preached the sermon to which Mr. Mozley refers, on *Sin after Baptism,* from that terrible text in Heb. vi., which he so terribly misapplied—he wrote no tract on that specific subject. His Tract, published in parts, and amounting altogether to a treatise, was entitled, *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism, as contained in the Scriptures, and thence enlarged upon by the Fathers.* This Tract, having been published in 1835 and 1836, is hardly likely to have

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been that writing of which he published the defence in 1839. Besides which, from the description given, it seems evident that Dr. Pusey's *Defence* covered much more than any question or questions as to baptism. I suspect that, like many sermons of Dr. Pusey's, this *Defence* was printed, but never published. The like may have been true of the sermon to which Mr. Mozley refers.

The solemn audacity with which Dr. Pusey taught his hearers that the doctrine of that text in Heb. vi. was the 'impossibility of renewing to repentance those who, having once been enlightened' in *Baptism*, and having been 'made partakers of the Holy Ghost' in *Confirmation*, had 'fallen away' from grace by wilful sin, is characteristic of the 'sanguine' man—a man sanguine in his anathemas as well as in his hopes and designs, who was 'haunted by no intellectual perplexities.' But the exegetical ignorance which could thus signally misinterpret a text, the reference of which to publicly apostate Hebrews—who, in returning to the camp of blaspheming Jewish anti-Christians, 'crucified to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame'—should have been very plain to a Biblical scholar, is beyond what could well have been thought possible in an Oxford Professor even in the era of Lord Grey's Ministry. One thing is evident, that already, as early as 1835, Pusey had taken his stand on that thoroughgoing perversion of the baptismal doctrine which he, all his life afterwards, strove to use as his great fundamental argument, his

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potent lever, in forcing all who came under conviction of sin to repair to the priest for confession and absolution—such absolution from the priest being the only relief and consolation available for the penitent seeking peace for his soul.

The power of Dr. Pusey as a preacher is not altogether easy to explain. He was not a man of an imposing figure. Of the middle height, well-knit, at once robust and spare, there was not very much that was striking in his appearance. His countenance, indeed, had a certain impressiveness — half stern, half saintly. His face was pale with the pallor of the close student; he had the look of a learned man; his eyes and facial muscles told of the resolute and burning vitality which was a part of his nature: altogether his aspect well agreed with the austere and ascetic sanctity which seemed to belong to his character. His voice is said to have contributed very greatly to the impressiveness of his preaching. 'Pusey's voice,' says Mozley, 'might want music and flexibility; but, whatever the cause, it was a powerful engine. A man with a harsh, or rumbling, or husky, or squeaky voice, preaching those sermons, would never have been listened to.' Distinct, penetrating, and solemn, the voice accorded well with the tone and character of the discourses which Pusey read from the pulpit of Christ Church or St. Mary's. He was an effective reader, who had the art and power to convey distinctly to the listener the sense of long and complicated sentences. The

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style was not graceful, but the message was earnest, was solemn, was searching, was often alarming. Pusey's great business as a preacher was to awaken his hearers to a sense of sin, that they might be made to feel their need—their deep and pressing need, their daily need — of resorting to those anointed earthly mediators whom Christ had, according to Dr. Pusey's gospel, appointed and commissioned to declare to penitents the remission of their sins. In this work his stern fidelity might remind us of John Wesley preaching from the pulpit of St. Mary's to the same University, especially Wesley as he was before his conversion.

Pusey, however, was not always in this vein. He preached also as a saint to saints. He speaks of the believer's life in Christ, and of Christ's life in the believer. And some of his discourses on these subjects —often largely enriched from the writings of the Fathers—contain much that is spiritual and excellent. Always, however, these discourses assume that the Christians for whom they are intended are maintained in their Christian integrity and peace and their spiritual life, from day to day, by the continual benefit of the sacrament of confession and absolution, and by participation of the Holy Eucharist, wherein the very body and blood of the Lord are, in their physical essence as well as in their supernatural character and efficacy, verily taken and received by the faithful.

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CHAPTER V.

HIGH CHURCH EXTERNALISM AND HIERARCHICAL SUPERSTITION. DR. PUSEY'S TEACHING AS TO BAPTISM AND THE LORD'S SUPPER.

IN the last chapter I referred to the externalist view of the Church as held by Anglo-Catholic Churchmen. I will begin the present chapter by stating that view more fully, with the implications and consequences which it involves. This statement will serve as an introduction to the somewhat detailed account of Dr. Pusey's theology which will follow. Nor can the meaning and relations of the Puseyite theological system be rightly understood apart from such an introduction.

The Church of Christ, then, according to the High Anglo-Catholic idea, is a visible organization, spreading through the nations, and destined to be co-extensive with the world. This Church is one and the same from age to age, and 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Unity and perpetuity are necessary properties of the Church, because it is Christ's one and only representative body upon earth. The Church, thus outward and visible, is the unique

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depository of the mind and will, the truth and life, the authority and the saving power, of its Saviour and Head. The world's salvation must therefore be consubstantiated with the Church; it must flow in its channels; wherever the Church is, there must be the virtue of Christ's presence, Christ's grace, Christ's life; the organic frame of the Church must of necessity be animated and instinct with the energy and the ever-springing fulness of the Divine Spirit—the very Spirit of Christ. And as the Church can only be present through its ministers, as, without the ministers, there can be no organic unity of the Church, no succession or perpetuation of the Church, it follows that wherever the Church's ministers are, there must be the presence and virtue and life of Christ Himself. Otherwise there would be no guarantee, no assurance, of the Church's perpetuity, or that the 'gates of hell' might 'not prevail against it.'

Such is the view which cannot but be held by those who have not apprehended the grand truth—never so needful to be insisted upon in England as at this day—that the Church of Christ against which 'the gates of hell shall not prevail,' is, in the inmost and deepest meaning of the promise, no particular external organization whatever, but the one spiritual Church of Christ, the 'mystical body' which, throughout all its living members, grows up together into Christ its living Head. It is a necessary part of the self-same general view of the external unity

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and perpetuity of the Church—it is of necessity bound up with it—that the identity and succession of the Church, throughout its various branches, is held to be maintained by common derivation of ministerial orders from the apostolic fountain and original; that all the 'Catholic' branches of the one true Church — whether Roman, or Anglican, or Eastern—alike claim, as their characteristic attribute, the apostolic succession of their ministerial orders, of their priesthood. It also follows that the line of saving influence and efficacy must be strictly and necessarily identified with the descent and succession of these ministerial orders, with the line of the priesthood. Where the priest is, there *must be* the water of life—the well of salvation. Otherwise, once again, the promise would not be sure, the unity and perpetuity of the Church would not be guaranteed.

Now all these requirements can be fulfilled, and the whole Church theory rounded off, only on one condition—that salvation is made sure—that saving grace is directly and necessarily conveyed—through the sacraments of the Church; that these are the chief, if not the only, revealed and appointed channels of grace. If saving efficacy in the ministrations of a Church were to be made conditional upon any such points as the doctrinal purity, the spirituality, or the godly earnestness of the preaching, or as the true and vivid representation of our Lord Jesus in His life and death and resurrection, or upon the gifts and learning, the Christian graces, the pastoral affection and

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fidelity of the ministers, it would be impossible to maintain the exclusive title and inheritance of the professedly apostolic and Catholic Church. On the contrary, as to these points, the communions outside the 'Catholic' pale have often undeniably excelled the 'successionist' Churches. Tried by every overt test, indeed, the exclusive Church may often be, and has often been, at a disadvantage when compared with the dissentient or the 'schismatical' Church. It is therefore indispensable that the test of validity and legitimacy for the 'Catholic' Church should be found in some occult property or quality necessarily connected with the organization of the Church and the transmission of its ministry. Such a property is found in the sacramental efficacy *ex opere operato*, which, as a Church dogma, is the fundamental principle underlying all Roman and all Romanizing superstition. By another application of the same method of convenient assumption, the priests of the succession, whatever may be their actual moral personality, whatever their actual creed—whatever, in short, may be their life or their opinions—are, in virtue of the imposition of consecrated hands, themselves made to be consecrated channels through which the life of Christ flows into the sacramental elements and ordinances. It is in this way that the Spirit of Christ is, as these transcendental and yet materializing superstitions teach, consubstantiated with the ecclesiastical organization of the Catholic Church in

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its various branches, East and West and Anglican. By the hands of the bishops, the Holy Ghost is given to the 'priests'; by the hands of the priest and the bishop, through the sacrament of baptism, of which confirmation, with the laying on of the bishop's hands, is, in the case of those who grow to years of discretion, an integral part, original sin is purged away, and the Holy Ghost is imparted to the baptized; by the hands of the priest, through the consecrated elements, the incarnate Christ is imparted in the Eucharist to such participants as, having disclosed to the priest their spiritual state, are by him admitted to the sacrament as penitents. It is by these stupendous assumptions that the externalist and exclusive theory of Church unity and perpetuity is consummated and completed. The saving influences of the Divine Spirit are, by these assumptions, made to be the exclusive possession and entail of the successionist Catholic Churches.

I am not arguing against the externalist view which has now been set forth. The implications and the consequences which are inseparable from it are its sufficient refutation. It is marvellous, indeed, that men not brought up under its bondage could ever have been induced to accept it, as Dr. Pusey did accept it; and to teach it unflinchingly, in spite of all its consequences, as Dr. Pusey did teach it for nearly half a century. How such a view should have grown up, under the moulding of the priestly instinct, during the 'dark ages,' among ignorant and

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superstitious folk who had never thoroughly or distinctly unlearnt the fetishism of their heathen rites of magic and idolatry, it is not difficult to understand; nor yet how later and less unenlightened ages, having received from their childhood uncritically, having indeed imbibed unconsciously, such tenets as this view involves, should still unreflectingly adhere to them. But that Oxford and the choicest culture of England —or any section thereof—should deliberately, distinctly, with full consciousness, elected to hold fast such a system of faith and teaching as I have described, would have been pronounced impossible beforehand; and would be incredible if testimony could not avail to establish as facts things in themselves antecedently improbable and seemingly monstrous.

In truth, the difficulties which an English Churchman has to surmount before he can settle himself permanently in the position which Dr. Pusey chose for himself as an Anglo-Catholic, are even greater than have been shown in the foregoing paragraphs. It is not merely the intrinsic unreasonableness of the tenets, — their monstrous character is seen in the light of either common sense or philosophy or the true theology of Christ's Gospel,—it is also the intolerable dilemma in which the Anglo-Catholic position fixes the English Churchman. He holds to the externalist view, but the externalist view condemns, I had almost said pillories, the English Church. The Anglo-Catholic seldom dares—how, on the externalist view,

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can he dare?—to challenge the claim of the 'Roman Unity' to have been and to be still the Church of Christ—to be indeed the main and central section or stem of the Church. But the Roman Church claims to be the one true Church, and excommunicates all other Churches, and in particular has excommunicated the Church of England. The Anglo-Catholic would never presume to question the claim of the Greek Communion—the 'Orthodox' Church—to be part and parcel of Christ's one invincible and perpetual Church. But the 'Orthodox' Church, claiming to be herself the one true and Apostolic Church, excommunicates the Roman Communion and all Eastern Churches besides itself, and holds the English Church to be schismatical, if not also heretical. How can an Anglo-Catholic extricate himself from these dilemmas?

It is, indeed, no wonder, so long as men cling to the externalist view, that they should be driven to accept the Romanist position, as the least difficult upon the whole. But Dr. Pusey never did accept this position. Ecclesiastically he remained outside Rome, while as to all essential points of theological dogma, he accepted the definitions and traditions of Rome. The more intolerable accordingly was his position. And yet this is the position still maintained by his followers in the Church of England—by those who hold such sacramental doctrine as has been described.

Let me now proceed to develop, with proofs and

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illustrations, the view of Dr. Pusey's theological system which, in the preceding chapters, has been sketched or intimated. I have to speak of his teaching as to the Sacraments and the Confessional,—with which are intimately and essentially connected his views of the devotional life of the Christian,—and to speak of his position and attitude in relation to the Church of Rome.

As the Romish and Romanizing perversion of the doctrine of Baptism lies at the foundation of the whole system of Romanizing superstition, in the revival of which, and its reimposition as a yoke of bondage and degradation upon the souls of English people, Dr. Pusey for so many years sustained the leading part, it was natural that Dr. Pusey should bestow much labour upon the exposition and enforcement of his doctrine as to this particular. Scarcely as to the Eucharist has he given so much pains and space, as he has to the development of his views on Baptism. He makes Baptism to be the one means and channel of the whole Christian life. Herein, and only herein, is conveyed forgiveness, and the new birth, and the gift of the Holy Ghost. The meaning and operation of faith in the case of penitents is restricted to the altogether preliminary work of accepting the teaching and authority of the Christian minister as to the way of salvation. Dr. Pusey teaches that St. Paul knew nothing of Christian grace until after his baptism. 'As yet neither were his sins forgiven, nor had he received the Holy

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Ghost; much less was he born again of the Spirit, before It was conveyed to him through the Saviour's Sacrament.' 'Before his baptism he appears neither to have been pardoned, regenerated, justified, nor enlightened.' During the three days and nights of his blindness and agony, he was unvisited by any illumination of the Spirit, or any influence of the special grace of Christ. All that transformed him from the state of bondage, darkness, and terror, was accomplished in and by his baptism at the hands of Ananias. In that his pardon was declared, his soul regenerated, and the Holy Ghost imparted to him in sudden power and fulness. The case of Cornelius, indeed, is admitted to be a sort of exception—but it is the only exception admitted, except the primary and palmary case of those original disciples who, on the day of Pentecost, were baptized with the Holy Ghost, in order to qualify them for baptizing others 'with water and with the Holy Ghost.'[1] The case of Cornelius and his Gentile household and friends Dr. Pusey likens to the case of those first disciples in the upper room. It is, indeed, unfortunate for his analogy that we find no evidence to show that Cornelius ever fulfilled any part so leading and eminent as that of the original disciples and witnesses who received the Pentecostal powers; and, moreover, that whereas the first disciples never

[1] The prerogative of our Lord to baptize with the Holy Ghost was, according to Dr. Pusey, fully bestowed on His apostles and their successors.

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received baptism, or at any rate never received any other than the baptism of John, Cornelius and all with him were, after receiving the Holy Ghost, immediately baptized; that is to say, when they had already received the Holy Ghost, they afterwards received that baptism of which the characteristic virtue, according to Dr. Pusey, is that in and by it the gifts of pardon and of the indwelling Holy Spirit are conveyed to the baptized. Of course the case of Cornelius is, of itself, fatal to this fundamental point of Romanizing Anglican doctrine, and Dr. Pusey possesses no power of sophistical plausibility adequate to disguise from any clear-headed reader the helpless failure of his most confused endeavour to force the history of the case into harmony with his views. One sentence may be quoted as summing up his expository judgment concerning it: 'It was a miracle, or rather there were a series of visions and miracles, wrought for this one end, to obtain baptism for the first Gentile convert, and in him for the Gentile Church.' This is a sentence the meaning of which seems to me to be impenetrable; the confusion of idea defies analysis.[1]

In his sermon in Christ Church on *Sin after Baptism*, Dr. Pusey taught that the language in Heb. vi. 4, 5 related directly and properly to Baptism. In Baptism the Hebrew reprobates had 'once' for

[1] The converse case of Simon Magus proves to be as intractable in Dr. Pusey's hands, and on his principles of exposition, as that of Cornelius.

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all been 'enlightened, and had tasted of the heavenly gift, and had been made partakers of the Holy Ghost.' So in the volume from which I have been quoting,[1] he expounds Heb. x. 22 as relating strictly and only to Baptism, as the means and ordinance wherein and whereby the believing Hebrews had at the same time had their 'bodies washed with pure water,' and their 'hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience.' St. Paul declares that to the Corinthian believers Christ had been made 'wisdom from God,' 'and righteousness and sanctification and redemption.' The direct and proper reference of the Apostle here, Dr. Pusey teaches, was to the baptism of the Corinthian Christians; and this he teaches without appearing to note how contradictory such an exposition is to the Apostle's own words almost immediately preceding, in which he says that Christ sent him 'not to baptize but to preach the Gospel,' and thanks God that, of all the Corinthian believers, he had himself only baptized two persons, besides the household of Stephanas, 'lest any man should say that ye were baptized into my name.' So again Dr. Pusey teaches that it was in and by Baptism, as the direct means and instrument, that the Corinthians 'were washed, were sanctified, were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Spirit of our God.' The words of John the Baptist: 'I indeed baptize with water; but there cometh One after me, who shall baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire,' are interpreted as finding

[1] *The Doctrine of Holy Baptism.*

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their direct and proper fulfilment in the effects of Christian water-baptism as administered by the disciples and their converts on and after the day of Pentecost. St. Paul speaks of the Ephesians as 'sealed by the Spirit of God unto the day of redemption,' and as 'sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance;' this inward and spiritual 'sealing,' Dr. Pusey teaches us, is but a name for the Sacrament of Baptism. So also, when in 2 Cor. i. 21, 22, it is said that God had 'anointed' the Corinthian believers, and 'sealed' them, and given them 'the earnest of the Spirit in their hearts,' the full and proper meaning of the passage is said to be satisfied by referring it to the direct and necessary spiritual benefits which came to these Corinthian Christians in and by their baptism. With characteristic intrepidity, with the sanguine thoroughness of purpose which ignores all 'intellectual perplexities,' Dr. Pusey carries out this principle of exposition through the whole of the New Testament. Even where St. John speaks of the 'unction from the Holy One,' the reference, according to Dr. Pusey, is to the gift and blessing which had been bestowed in and by Baptism as means and instrument.

Such being Dr. Pusey's teaching as to Adult Baptism, his views on Infant Baptism strictly correspond. He regards Infant Baptism and Confirmation as part and parcel of the same sacrament. According to his view, in Baptism 'original sin is washed away and Divine grace imparted' through the Spirit of

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Christ; in Confirmation the fuller and richer gifts and influence of the Holy Ghost are, under the laying on of the Bishop's hands, imparted to the catechumens. He approves and adopts the expressions which speak of Confirmation as 'part of Baptism,' as 'the complement of Baptism;' and he quotes with approval from Bingham the language of Haime,—a High-Church writer,—which affirms 'in so many words—"The gift of the Holy Spirit is given in *Baptism* by the imposition of the bishop's hands."' It need hardly be said that he cites the Prayer-Book in support of his views, especially as regards Infant Baptism; he quotes the Catechism in particular with great confidence. One note bearing on this point it may be well here to quote:—

'Persons often forget that Baptismal Regeneration is taught in the Catechism as well, as undoubtingly, and as warmly as in the services of Baptism and Confirmation; for when the child is taught to say it was "in its baptism made a member of Christ and a child of God," that "being by nature born in sin, and the children of wrath, we are hereby" (by the spiritual grace of Baptism) "made children of grace;" what is this but to say that we are born of God, *i.e.* regenerate? and every child is taught to "thank its Heavenly Father for having called it into this state of salvation through Jesus Christ our Saviour," and humbly to pray, not that it be brought into any other state, but "that it might continue in the same to its life's end."'

Surely it must be admitted, in reference to this note, that the language quoted from the Catechism too naturally admits the interpretation which the Arch High Churchman would fix upon it, albeit many good Evangelical Protestants have bent it to a different sense; and that the Catechism, as well as

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some other formularies of the Church of England, retains too strong and evident traces of the teaching of the mediæval Western Church, corrupt and superstitious as we know that teaching to have been.

The following passages will serve to present in his own words a summary view of Dr. Pusey's doctrine as to Baptism: 'No change of heart, then, or of the affections; no repentance, however radical; no faith, no life, no love, comes up to the idea of this "birth from above;" it takes them all in and comprehends them all, but itself is more than all: it is not only the creation of a new heart, new affections, new desires, and, *as it were*, a new birth, but it is an *actual* birth from above or from God, a gift coming down from God, and given to faith, through Baptism; yet not the work *of* faith, but the operation *of* "water and the Holy Spirit." . . . Faith and repentance are the conditions on which God gives it; water, sanctified by our Lord's Baptism, the womb of our new birth.' Here, in passing, let me note that the faith of which Dr. Pusey here speaks is not at all that 'faith of the Son of God,' that 'faith of the operation of God,' of which St. Paul speaks, and whereby he tells us that he lived (Col. ii. 12; Gal. ii. 20); it is faith before grace, faith apart from any special influence of the Holy Spirit. What it may be understood to mean in the case of the baptized *infant*, Dr. Pusey makes no attempt to explain. But I add another quotation. After referring to the earliest memories

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of happy homes, and to 'bright visions of the past' in childhood's happiest days, Dr. Pusey proceeds as follows:—

'It is not then in vain, surely, that throughout His whole Church He has blended with that early past one brighter spot which sheds its lustre over all, and from which the light of their sun shines sevenfold, our baptismal morn. . . . Our baptism is of inexpressible value and comfort, even because it is the act of God; it has nothing earthly mingled with it; it was simply His who chose us "to the sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ," and "predestinated us unto the adoption of children by Jesus Christ unto Himself." . . . Our comfort, our joy, our peace, our consolation, our glory, is to have what we have purely from Him, and conveyed by a formal act of His, whereby, "not according to works of righteousness which we did, but according to His mercy HE SAVED US, through the washing of regeneration and the renewing of the Holy Ghost,"—that "Baptism saves us, through the resurrection of JESUS CHRIST, who is on the right hand of God."'

The last sentence is not easily construed, nor do I see by what natural emendation it could be made grammatically clear. Still, I could not omit it from the quotation, and the whole passage sufficiently contains the meaning which its writer meant to convey.

Such was Dr. Pusey's teaching as to the new birth and the gift of the Holy Ghost in Baptism, equally for infants and for adults. The Christian life so begun in the soul was, of course, as he taught, to be specifically, directly, and according to God's proper plan and ordinance, nourished and maintained by the 'Holy Eucharist.' In this and this alone the flame of the holy life would be fed with its pure, its appropriate, its homogeneous aliment. In this sacrament, life was to be replenished by life,—the life of the

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Spirit of Christ imparted in baptism,—by the very life of Christ Jesus Himself in His real presence, at once corporeal and spiritual, and impregnating the whole humanity of the duly prepared participator. Romanists are supposed—and suppose themselves—to believe that what common people would regard as the material substance and properties, what Roman theologians speak of as the *accidents* of bread and wine, are transubstantiated, under the consecrating energy and efficacy of the priestly invocation, into the nature of our risen and glorified Lord, at once human and divine, into His body, soul, spirit, and perfect and absolute divinity. Dr. Pusey and his followers believe and teach that the substance and properties, the *accidents*, of bread and wine indeed remain, but that they are interpenetrated with and by the nature and personal presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, as God and man, or, in other words,—though words in truth are altogether incommensurable with would-be propositions so contradictory and unthinkable,—that our Lord, in His perfect fulness, is consubstantiated with every particle of the consecrated bread and wine.

This doctrine is not less, but if possible more self-contradictory than the Romish teaching as to transubstantiation, and, in its effect on faith and worship, is identical. Alike on the Puseyite and on the Romanist view, the consecrating lips and hands of the priest work the spell by which so unspeakable a result is effected; and the very Christ Himself is placed in

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the hands and in the mouth of every participator. If priests are believed able to do this, it is scarcely to be wondered at that, as confessors and absolvers of penitent sinners, the attributes of the Searcher of hearts, the 'God of judgment, by Whom' both motives and 'actions are weighed,' are attributed to them. Of course it follows, with the most evident necessity, from such teaching as this, that the communicating congregation cannot but kneel and worship the Saviour, Who is both bodily and spiritually present with them all and each. The step between such doctrine and such worship in our churches, and the celebration of the Mass as in Romish churches, is too short and easy to be appreciable. Dr. Pusey's teaching, indeed, leads directly and necessarily to such Romish ritualizing as that of the late Father Lowder or Mr. Mackonochie.

I will quote only one passage on this subject from Dr. Pusey's writings. It will be found in his sermon entitled *This is My Body*, preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, in 1871:—

'Finding that the words "Real Presence" were often understood of what is in fact a "Real Absence," we added the word "Objective," to express that the Life-giving Body, the *res sacramenti*, is, *by virtue of the consecration*,[1] present without us, to be received by us, in the words of the Fathers, "for us to lay up Christ in ourselves and place the Saviour in our breasts." . . . I will only add briefly, that the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice and of Eucharistic Adoration are involved in the doctrine of the Real Presence. . . . "The essence of the Sacrifice of the Eucharist," Bossuet had said, "consists precisely in the consecration, whereby, in virtue of the words of Jesus Christ, His Body and precious Blood are placed really on the

[1] The italics are mine.

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Holy Table, mystically separated under the species of bread and wine. By this action, taken precisely, and without anything added by the priest, JESUS CHRIST is really offered to His Father, inasmuch as His Body and His Blood are placed before Him, actually clothed with the signs representing His death."

That is, of course, Popery. Indeed, Dr. Pusey quotes Bossuet, quite simply and naturally, as representing his own views as to the Real Presence and as to the Sacrifice of the Eucharist.

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CHAPTER VI.

ROMISH DOCTRINE AND ROMISH RULES AND SERVICES OF DEVOTION.—EXTREME INTOLERANCE OF THE PUSEYITE SCHOOL.

IN the two 'great sacraments,' as Dr. Pusey discriminatingly styles them, are provided, as we have seen, according to his theology, the first fountain (that is, in Baptism) and the perpetual replenishment (that is, in the Holy Communion) of the proper Christian life; but what provision is made, according to his teaching, for the recovery and restoration of the Christian who gives way under temptation—who falls into sin? The answer which Dr. Pusey gives to this question is, that the 'remedy for sin after baptism' is provided in the sacrament of confession and absolution—for a sacrament he maintains it to be, although not one of the 'great sacraments.' As to this point there is much to be learned from Bishop Wilberforce's correspondence with and in relation to Dr. Pusey, given in his *Life*, although the Bishop's own principles as to the sacraments not being soundly evangelical placed him always at a disadvantage in his discussions of the

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subject. Dr. Pusey's teaching, as was shown in my first chapter, sent the conscious sinner, the man grieved for his fall and seeking pardon and restoration after his transgression, not direct to his Saviour, but to the priest, as the ordained and commissioned 'physician' of his soul, divinely authorized to 'estimate the repentance and faith' of the self-convicted sinner, and, if satisfied as to his state, to declare 'the absolving sentence' of God, whereby 'He effaces the past.' Thus the penitent gets comfort from the priest, and from him alone can receive any sure or lawful comfort. Here, in this 'sacrament of confession and absolution,' and here alone, is the rightful source of consolation for the troubled conscience. For venial sin, indeed, for hasty and unconscious transgression, the daily confession in the public prayers at church, and the public absolution from the priest following thereupon —the whole service being read and interpreted under high Anglo-Catholic light—might be sufficient. But for all wilful sin that troubled the conscience the one true and legitimate remedy was the confessional.

This was Pusey's consistent doctrine, although the fear of episcopal censure led him often to use language which rather implied than straightforwardly expressed it—language which laid down the principle, but did not in full distinctness draw out the conclusion—and his practice for forty years was in strict agreement with his doctrine. Most earnestly and repeatedly did Bishop Wilberforce

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endeavour to gain from him some substantial concession as to this point of his teaching; but he completely failed. Dr. Pusey neither frankly told the whole truth as to his own teaching and example, nor gave any pledge as to his future course.

Dr. Pusey's preaching, when not addressed to believers, was of the most stern, searching, and awakening character, but never coupled with any direction of sinners immediately to Christ as their Saviour; its characteristic effect was to drive his hearers to the priest and the confessional. One sentence in the Preface to the first volume of his *Parochial Sermons* puts in very strong light the antagonism between his views and those of John Wesley as to the point which is now before us. 'Wesleyanism,' he says, 'substituted its doctrine of "present salvation" for the comfort through the ordinance of confession and absolution.' If we turn this sentence round, the truth will come out in the following form: Puseyism substitutes for the blessed doctrine of a present and conscious salvation, through 'repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ,' such comfort as may be obtained from confession to a human priest and absolution pronounced by his lips. And if this prime and deadly element of Popery, together with the essentially Romish doctrine of the Mass, are now widely spread through England, and in course of increasingly active propagation, Dr. Pusey, more than any other man, contributed to the lamentable result.

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It was one of Pusey's habitual subterfuges in writing on the subject of Confession—both in his published works and in his letters to Bishop Wilberforce—to say that he did not 'enforce' confession, that his practice differed from that of Rome in that, so far as he was concerned, confession was not 'compulsory.' It could not be, because in this realm of England, and within the Church of England, it was and is impossible to 'enforce' confession, impossible that it should be 'compulsory.' It is true, as Dr. Pusey takes needless pains to show, that confession was compulsory before the Reformation, but is not now. That, of course, is the result of circumstances beyond all control of any priesthood. The way in which Dr. Pusey harps upon this distinction is merely ridiculous. He did all in his power to recommend, and by personal and moral influence even to 'enforce' confession, especially in the case of the young. He lent all his faculties to the promotion of the system; quietly, it is true, even stealthily, but not the less resolutely or effectually on that account. Those were faithful words which the Bishop wrote to him on the last day of November 1850; and many such-like admonitions the Bishop addressed to him in vain:—

'That you trembled when you began it; that it is the people who come to you for these purposes, and not you who seek them; that your intentions are the purest; that there is much secret impurity abroad; that you do not actually enforce confession,—all these allegations of yours are, I doubt not, perfectly true; and yet the fact remains; you seem to me to be habitually assuming the place

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and doing the work of a Roman confessor, and not that of an English clergyman. Now, I so firmly believe that of all the curses of Popery this is the crowning curse, that I cannot allow voluntarily within my charge the continuance of any ministry which is infected by it. There is a broad difference between advising penitent sinners concerning their souls, and either assuming or having forced on you the office of confessor or director. It would be difficult to bring home to one who sought to evade it the charge that his ministry is conducted on the latter, and not on the former principle; but it cannot, I think, be difficult for an honest mind dealing closely with the question to apprehend with perfect distinctness, and to make manifest to another on which set of principles it is acting. And on this subject of confession nothing would satisfy me short of an assurance sufficient to convince me that there is no danger of your acting in fact as a Romish confessor in the orders of the English Church.'

As a matter of fact, Dr. Pusey was, for not much less than two years (1850-1852), privately inhibited by Bishop Wilberforce from preaching within the diocese of Oxford. It will be remembered that, on account of his famous first Oxford sermon on the Eucharist, he had seven years before been, for two years, suspended from preaching before the University of Oxford. Samuel Wilberforce—at that time not yet bishop but archdeacon—makes some remarks as to that sermon in one of his letters written about the time (1843), which are worthy of attention, because they serve to show the profound harmony in error which pervaded Dr. Pusey's views as to the whole question now before us. Wilberforce states his own view, in contradistinction to that of Pusey, to be, that 'in the Eucharist is the *seal* of remission, not the *act* of remission,' and that Pusey's view is directly contrary to St. Paul's doctrine of

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justification, and to the Thirty-first Article of the Church of England. 'To make the Atoning Sacrifice begin at the institution of the "Eucharist" is intended to continue it in every celebration,' contrary to the Article. 'The whole view denies the *forgiven state* of the justified man,' and 'breaks down the one great act of forgiveness into a number of acts of forgiveness.'

Happily for Samuel Wilberforce, he retained through life a strong savour of his father's evangelical doctrine and feeling. Hence the invincible repugnance, as to doctrine, tone, and tendency, between Pusey and himself, notwithstanding his own too strongly High Church principles. The passage from which I have last quoted shows that, as early as 1843, Wilberforce had noted with emphasis, and also with considerable precision, the distinctly Romanizing bent of Dr. Pusey's theology, especially as to the relation of forgiveness to faith and the Sacraments. In after years, as Dr. Pusey's diocesan, he had information, at once more accurate and more ample, as to the inner meaning and the intended influence of Dr. Pusey's teaching and inspiration. Each year deepened his distrust of the Oxford oracle, while the perversions within his own family circle afforded painfully convincing and impressive illustrations of the direct tendency and the actual effect of Dr. Pusey's principles.

Romanizing views as to the 'Eucharist' invariably lead to the use of Romish books of devotion, manuals

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of confession, companions to the altar, and so forth. One of the characteristic vocations of Dr. Pusey was the editing and adapting of such Romish books for Anglican use, issuing them with his own strong recommendation. The injury he did in this way is incalculable, and the example he set has been followed with pernicious fidelity, and even improved upon with lamentable success, by disciples whose less responsible position has favoured their still more advanced and unscrupulous Romanizing. What a false light on shore is to vessels striving to make port in a storm, such was Dr. Pusey to perplexed Churchmen desiring to escape from doubt and sin. They supposed that in making for the light which he held forth to their view they would be guided into a safe and orthodox Church of England anchorage; they discovered in the end—and too late for any retreat—that the only anchorage for them in that direction lay within the jurisdiction of Rome. Dr. Pusey's comrades, those who like him held Romish doctrine whilst ministering at Anglican altars, always held—and some still hold—the same language; they said that Dr. Pusey's influence retained in the Church of England far more who would otherwise have left, than the number of those who, outrunning him, went over to Rome. Bishop Wilberforce, who, of all men, had by far the best means of judging as to this point, was of a wholly different opinion. Both Dr. Hook and he discovered to their cost that Dr. Pusey's most earnest followers

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went in crowds over to Rome, although some few, worse still, remained to carry on the process of corrupting the English National Church.

In his Charge delivered in October 1851, Bishop Wilberforce dealt particularly and very fully with the question of the confessional and with the books of devotion sent forth by Dr. Pusey for the spiritual direction and quickening of communicants; and in the appendix to that Charge he makes considerable quotations from some of these books. In a note he quotes 'a recent writer' of the Roman Communion who, in reference to 'Dr. Pusey's adaptations,' says: 'For one whom our books of controversy have brought round, twenty at least have yielded to the power of devotions.' And he quotes from one of Dr. Pusey's adapted manuals some passages of which the following is a sample:—'On the second day thou wilt offer homage to the heart of Jesus, lying as an infant in the stable, on the third to His mouth, on the fourth to His eyes,' etc. To such materialistic and heathenish degradation does Romanizing devotion naturally tend, when once it has been steeped in the influences of which the 'histrionic'[1] ceremonial of the 'Sacrifice' of the Mass is the centre. Would it not be incredible, unless it had been a notorious and indisputable fact, that an English divine, such as Dr. Pusey, should himself have edited, have adapted, and have published, as an aid to Christian

[1] The word is Dr. Littledale's in *The Church and the World*, 1866. He uses it as a eulogistic epithet.

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devotion, a book containing such a passage as the one just cited?

'In the year 1850, when Dr. Pusey had been some years engaged in receiving the confessions of penitents in various parts of England, without any ecclesiastical authority for so doing, and in granting absolutions as a consequence of such confessions, three clergymen of his own school, viz. Messrs. Allies, Dodsworth, and Maskell, addressed a joint letter to him, expressing their doubts as to the validity of absolutions pronounced by a priest on those "over whom he has not ordinary or delegated jurisdiction," and "earnestly desiring an elucidation of this matter."

'The appeal of these three clergymen appears to have been considered as an improper interference, to which Dr. Pusey would make no reply, until remonstrated with by Mr. Dodsworth, who reproached him in the following way:—

'"In conclusion, I must add one word on the grief and surprise it has occasioned me, and many others beside me, that you should have taken this line in our present difficulties. Both by precept and example you have been amongst the most earnest to maintain Catholic principles. By your constant and common practice of administering the *Sacrament of Penance;* by encouraging everywhere, *if not enjoining, Auricular Confession,* and giving special *priestly absolution;* by your introduction of *Roman Catholic books,* etc., you have done *much to revive* amongst us the system which may be pre-eminently called '*sacramental.*' And yet now, when by God's mercy to us a great opportunity has occurred of asserting and enforcing *the very keystone of the system,* and apart from which the whole must crumble away, you seem to shrink," etc.[1]

'Dr Pusey abstained from noticing the appeal of the three clergymen who had addressed him, and who all subsequently joined the Church of Rome; but he wrote an elaborate pamphlet to the Rev. Upton Richards in defence of himself, which drew forth from Mr. Maskell a reply from which I make the following extract:—

'"In page 6 of your letter to Mr. Richards, you blame Mr. Dodsworth for having said in his published letter to you that you have '*enjoined*' *Auricular Confession,* and you say that you could not *enjoin* it. Suffer me to say that Mr. Dodsworth's use of the word was just and reasonable. He does not use it simply without limitation; he says that you have '*encouraged, if not enjoined,*' *Auricular Confession;* but it is evident that in the sense of compulsion, he knew, as well as yourself, you could not possibly enjoin Auricular Confession. And he knew also, *as I know,* that to say merely that you have encouraged it, *would fall as far short of what your actual*

[1] Dodsworth's *Letter to Dr. Pusey,* p. 17.

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practice is, as the word enjoin in the sense of compelling would exceed it. He knew that you had done more than encourage confession in very many cases; that you have warned people of the *danger of deferring it*, have *insisted* on it as *the only remedy*, have pointed out the inevitable dangers of the neglect of it, and have promised the highest blessings in the observance, *until you had brought penitents in fear and trembling upon their knees before you.*

'"There are some other parts of your letter to Mr. Richards which have somewhat more than startled me. *I have almost begun to doubt the accuracy of my memory, or that I could ever have understood the commonest rules of plain speaking upon very solemn mysteries and duties of the Christian faith.* I mean such passages as these—'We are not to obtrude, nor to offer our services, nor to cause confusion by intruding into the ministry of others. . . . In like manner, when *residing* elsewhere;' from which, of course, no one would suppose that *you go from home into other dioceses for the express purpose of receiving Auricular Confession.* . . . 'when any came to me I ministered to them. But not having a parochial cure, I have not led others to confession.' . . . Far be it from me to say you do not believe every word of these sentences to be strictly and verbally true; what I do say is, that so far as I have known it, *they do not in any adequate or real way represent your practice.* . . . The Bishop of Exeter would repudiate *with horror* the system of particular and detailed inquiry into every circumstance of sin, which, *in correct imitation of Roman Catholic rules, you do not fail to press.* . . . What, then, do you conceive that the Bishop of Exeter would say of persons *secretly received against the known will of their parents*, or confession heard in the houses of common friends, or, *of clandestine correspondence to arrange meetings under initials, or in envelopes addressed to other persons?* and more than this, when such confessions are recommended and urged as a part of the spiritual life, and among religious duties; not in order to quiet the conscience before receiving the communion. *I know how heavily the enforced mystery and secret correspondence regarding confession in your communion has weighed down the minds of many to whom you have 'ministered;'* I know how bitterly it has eaten, even as a canker, into their very souls; *I know how utterly the specious arguments which you have urged have failed to remove their burning sense of shame and deceitfulness.*"'[1]

And is Dr. Pusey, then, worthy to be celebrated and handed down to posterity as the great Churchman of his day by a memorial to which Christians of the English Reformed Communion are asked to contribute? Let conspirators against English Protestantism con-

[1] The foregoing passage is quoted from Maskell's *Letter to Dr. Pusey*, pp. 17–21, by the Rev. Bourchier Wrey Savile, in his pamphlet entitled *Dr. Pusey: an Historic Sketch.*

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tribute, if they will; but let no false liberalism induce men who believe in a Gospel of light and liberty, in Christianity as a revelation no less reasonable than mysterious, to lend any countenance to a memorial intended to embalm the memory and to perpetuate the baleful influence of the great Anglican heresiarch. The errors of the Galatian Judaizers were not more fundamental, or of more fatal tendency, than those which constitute the special and personal characteristics of Dr. Pusey as a theological teacher. And we know in what tone and spirit St. Paul handled those false teachers. The personal devotedness, the charities, the learning of Dr. Pusey ought not to be allowed to disguise the real character of his doctrine and of his influence.

It is impossible, in a sketch of Dr. Pusey as a Church leader, and in reference to his teaching as to personal devotion, to overlook his great influence as an organizer of sisterhoods. In this as in some other particulars, that which he promoted had in it a root not only of power but of goodness and right, with which were unhappily implicated and co-rooted the perversions that belonged to his special theology. It was doubtless thus, for instance, in regard to the matter of confession. There is truth in what Dr. Pusey often says as to the benefit to be derived in certain cases, and especially in the case of the young, from their 'opening their griefs,' their temptations, their besetting sins, their intellectual and moral perplexities, to a well-established Christian, a good man

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of much experience and proved wisdom. But the deadly poison of his teaching on this subject consists in this, that it is not simply a wise and good man, but it is the priest only, of whom he speaks, the 'priest-physician' of souls, the 'confessor,' and that this physician and confessor is invested with the power both of searching the heart and of pronouncing (or withholding) absolution as from God. It is this which turns orthodoxy into blasphemy, and depraves spiritual counsel and fellowship into terrible degradation, into demoralizing slavery of soul and will.

So also in regard to 'sisterhoods.' The more we have of true evangelical sisterhoods the better. But Dr. Pusey's influence upon sisterhoods was like the trail of the serpent on that which is most lovely. The lifelong vow, the vow of celibacy, which he favoured, and the directorate of the priest-confessor, which his teaching and influence directly promoted, are a poisonous blight on these institutions. Dr. Pusey's connection with the Plymouth sisterhood had a secret history, of which the little that came to light warranted the suspicions of evangelical Christians; not, indeed, as to any such thing as impurity, but as to spiritual tyranny and superstition. As to Clewer and Dr. Pusey's influence in that sisterhood, much light is afforded by Bishop Wilberforce's correspondence and diary. Nothing in his Oxford diocese seems to have given the Bishop more trouble than Clewer. In one place we have the following entry in his diary, the first reference in which is to the

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lady-superintendent, a sort of prioress, under whose immediate domestic and spiritual charge that house was placed:—

'Long and private discourse with Mrs. ——. She opened to me Pusey's influence. She had been taken to Pusey by her late husband, and could not, out of regard to his memory, renounce Pusey as a guide. Resolved that for the future none should be admitted who would not, while in it, be content with the spiritual aid of bishop or chaplains, or that it would become a mere nest of true Puseyites.' This was in 1853. The following year, in a letter to the chaplain of Clewer, Canon Carter, the Bishop thus expresses himself: 'You *must not* let the soft influence of the women's souls, with which you have to do, lead you into becoming a *director*. You must with me distinctly act, and say that Clewer is to be the Church of England and *no more*. We must have no *evasions* as to Roman Catholic books, as to going at stated times to Richards' (the Rev. W. Upton Richards, one of Dr. Pusey's closest friends and disciples) 'and Pusey, etc. Evasion seems to me the very clinging curse of everything Roman and Romanistic.'

Thus we see everywhere Pusey's influence coming in, and everywhere as an influence of Romanizing seduction and perversion. Standing himself within Anglican territory, he sent all who inquired the way from him along the direct road leading downhill to Rome, and helped to give them an impetus which could not but carry most of them beyond the Anglican

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boundary and within the line where the vigilant and politic Roman outposts would take charge of them and convey them carefully to the shelter of the Pontifical dominion.

There is but one point in my programme remaining to be made good; that Dr. Pusey, though he himself never went over to Rome, was more advanced in his Romanizing than was Dr. Newman when he found himself compelled equally by logic and by conscience to leave Anglican Oxford, and to join the Roman Communion. In addition to the view already given of Dr. Pusey's opinions, the special evidences in proof of what I have now said are to be found chiefly in the Preface which he contributed to an edition of Newman's Tract 90, and in his *Eirenicon*. I shall here only refer to the latter.

When Newman had gone over to the Church of Rome, he wrote as follows, in November 1845, as he tells us in his *Apologia*: 'I have felt all along that Bishop Bull's theology was the only theology on which the English Church could stand. I have felt that opposition to the Church of Rome was part of that theology; and that he who could not protest against the Church of Rome was no true divine in the English Church. I have never said, nor attempted to say, that any one in office in the English Church, whether bishop or incumbent, could be otherwise than in hostility to the Church of Rome.' He had written on an earlier page of the *Apologia*,

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'From the end of 1841, I was on my death-bed as regards my membership with the Anglican Church, though at the time I became aware of it only by degrees.'

These statements of Dr. Newman's are sufficient of themselves to prove that up to the very eve of his concluding that he could no longer remain in the Church of England, Dr. Newman's sentiments were less favourable to the Church of Rome than those of Dr. Pusey during the last thirty or forty years of his life. The *Eirenicon*, published in 1865, expounds the views in relation to the Church of Rome which Dr. Pusey had held for not less than twenty years. If, as Dr. Newman held, so long as he retained his position within the Church of England, he who could not protest against the Church of Rome was 'no true divine of the Church of England,' Dr. Pusey had for many years ceased to be a 'true divine' of the English Church. The precise object of the *Eirenicon*, indeed, was to show that no divine of the Church of England was under any necessity whatever of protesting against the Church of Rome. The volume propounds a basis of union between Canterbury and Rome, that basis being nothing else than the very Decrees of the Council of Trent, those decrees being generously and forbearingly interpreted on the part of Rome, and generously and with lowly and loving trustfulness accepted on the part of the English Church.

In his letter to Dr. Jelf, in explanation of Tract

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90, Dr. Newman sums up the meaning and intent of that famous tract. He desired that 'taking away the doctrine of transubstantiation from the mass, we shall have no dispute about the sacrifice.' Dr. Pusey, however, not only taught 'the sacrifice,' but in his *Eirenicon* he takes particular pains to show that his own doctrine of the Real Presence differs only in the mode of expression from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. Newman would, at that time, have left open the point, as he phrases it, of 'comprecation with the saints.' But Dr. Pusey would have gone further, and accepted a determination of the Council of Trent which pronounces the invocation of saints to be 'good and useful.' In 1841 Dr. Newman held that the worship of the Virgin was, at least in principle and tendency, idolatrous, and was very often distinctly idolatrous in practice; whereas, although Dr. Pusey had shown in his *Eirenicon*, almost *ad nauseam*, to what frightful lengths of blasphemous superstition this worship has been carried in the Romish Church, he was not prepared to affirm that the Roman Catholic worship of the Virgin was in itself, or in its essential principle, idolatrous.

Dr. Pusey was, in fact, about as good a Papist as Bossuet or Dupin. Protestant is a designation which he utterly rejected. Nor can he be classed under any variety or category as receiving the doctrines of the Reformation. He rejected the doctrine of Luther as to faith and justification; he denounced the doctrine of Calvin as to grace and the sacraments; he explained

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away the doctrines of the Articles and Homilies of the Church of England, as elucidated by the writings of the English Reformers. He can only be described as a mild Romanist, who received the Tridentine Decrees, —these Decrees being indeed his proposed basis of union between Rome and the Church of England, —but would interpret them in the sense least obnoxious to Protestant Christians. Like some of the most eminent Romanist divines, he did not believe in Papal infallibility, which, indeed, at the time he wrote his *Eirenicon*, was not yet an article of faith, but in the infallibility of General Councils of the whole Church. The only point as to which, twenty years ago, there was, according to Archbishop Manning, any point of essential difference between Dr. Pusey and himself, was that of the authority of tradition. But as to this point, according to Dr. Newman, there was no difference between the views of Dr. Pusey and of Romanists. In his letter to Dr. Pusey, called forth by the *Eirenicon*, Dr. Newman declares that the difference as to this point 'between Catholics and Anglicans is merely one of words.' If so, then was Dr. Pusey, twenty years ago, to all intents and purposes a Romanist in faith and doctrine.

Dr. Pusey could not indeed go all lengths with the Roman Church, as judged by its vulgar faith and ordinary practices. But neither do Roman Catholics of superior intelligence and culture. His rejection of Papal Infallibility would, it may be

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presumed, preclude him from being accounted a good modern Papist. But his faith seems to have strictly coincided with that of the more enlightened Romanists of the naturalized English or of the Gallican school. He was assuredly not an adherent, in any sense, of the Reformed faith. Bishop Wilberforce had ample reason and right when he charged him with doing the work of a Romish priest and confessor within the orders of the Church of England.

He was indeed the main strength of the Romanizing conspiracy within the Church of England; he was the very Archimago of all the subtlety and mischief which were practised and organized throughout the kingdom for enlisting women, for instructing and training boys, for influencing associations of clergy, for taking hold of important centres in the interest of the Romanizing propaganda. The lamentable and indeed disgraceful history of the founding of St. Saviour's Church, Leeds, and of the impregnation of its clergy and its services with Roman doctrine, may be read, certainly in no exaggerated form, in the second volume of Dean Hook's *Life*. Of that church, which carries its Popish motto over its porch, Dr. Pusey was virtually the founder (in 1842), and of its Romanizing staff of clergy he was the inspirer and the oracle (in 1845). *They* soon went to Rome. If Dr. Pusey remained within the Church of England, it may well be doubted whether either that Church or the English people owe him any gratitude or respect on that account. If he had

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gone over when Newman went, would it be any worse to-day for religion and for national well-being in this country?

It is sometimes said that the Oxford blight of infidelity is worse than the Oxford blight of Romanizing superstition. But can there be any reasonable doubt that the infidelity is, in no small measure, a natural reaction from the superstition? A Renaissance of mediæval superstition in the University has naturally produced a Renaissance of scholarly mediæval paganism. The two are found together to-day at Oxford as they were in Italy three hundred years ago.

One incidental benefit, indeed, resulting from Dr. Pusey's implication with the St. Saviour's history at Leeds, was that Dr. Hook was strongly checked in his own tendency Romewards, even as Bishop Wilberforce was arrested in a similar tendency by what he had reason to know of Dr. Pusey's work, especially in and near Oxford. If Dr. Hook had not been thus checked, and if his had been a village parish instead of Leeds, he might have gone very far indeed.

The deadly virulence of the principles of externalism and high sacramentarianism is shown in nothing perhaps more than in the bigotry and intolerance—essentially Popish—which they produce, even in men of a liberal temper or of a gentle spirit. Hook's earlier history, before he renounced all sympathy with

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Pusey and his works, will afford an illustration of this point; while John Keble's whole course, in his ecclesiastical character and relations, was, to an extent which would seem to be altogether unknown, but which it will be instructive and just now salutary to exhibit, one consistent illustration of it. How absolutely one were Pusey and Keble in their theological and ecclesiastical views is very well known.

In his later years Dr. Hook cultivated friendly relations with Nonconformists, and showed himself, in regard to them, a man of a generous spirit. But in April 1838, when he was no longer a young man, but had exchanged his influential sphere at Coventry for the greater sphere of which Leeds was the centre, we find in the second volume of his *Life*, that he deliberately and expressly wrote of 'that class of persons represented by the *Patriot*, the *Record*, etc.,' as 'Socinianizing Christians'—Socinianizing, that is, because not holding high Anglican views as to tradition and the Sacraments. Similarly we find him a little later expressing it as his opinion that a 'Romanist is far less in error than Owen and Baxter.'

Such language from a man like Dr. Hook, in the strength of his years, is shocking enough, and affords a sharp gauge of the anti-Protestant virulence which the Anglo-Romanizing spirit engenders. Cardinal Manning himself might be quoted to reprove such narrow and blundering bigotry as this, and to assign to Baxter, at least, his rightful place among divines

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and Christians outside of the pale of Rome. But what I am about to quote from the prose writing of the poet of *The Christian Year* will excite still more astonishment.

In 1847 Keble published a volume of *Sermons, Academical and Occasional.* To this volume he prefixed an elaborate preface, in which he distinguishes mankind in relation to religion, into three classes: 'Christians, properly so called, *i.e.* Catholics; Jews, Mohammedans, and heretics; and heathens and unbelievers.' Among heretics he includes all Protestant sects, as distinguished from 'Catholic' churches. Defending the claims of the Church of England to true catholicity, he puts this question: 'If the Church of the Fathers—notwithstanding the Donatists and Novatians of old, to say nothing of grosser heresies—continued without all question a true Church, why may not the Church of England continue a true Church also, notwithstanding her toleration of Puritans and other Rationalists within her borders?' He lays it down broadly and plainly, in the case of any and every Baptist as such, that he cannot be 'a member of Christ;' that 'his membership is but imaginary.' He does, however, go so far in the way of concession as to say: 'We, I suppose, should not hesitate to hope and pronounce favourably of sincere and good persons, living and dying Puritans, or even Mohammedans, simply through invincible ignorance.' Throughout the preface he uses Puritan and Rationalist as convertible terms.

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Such being the temper of Keble's mind as a priest and theologian, however devotional and beautiful may be his poetry, it is not surprising if the Methodists of his parish, in their actual dealings with the Churchman in his parish, found that he treated their form of dissent as nothing less than heresy. I am referring to the experience of the 'Primitive Wesleyans' (so called) in the parish of Hursley. Nor is it surprising, either, to find that Mr. Mozley, in his *Reminiscences*, bears witness to his quiet but marked and settled dogmatism in private society as to matters of faith and doctrine. It could not be otherwise in the case of a man capable of writing such a preface in the year 1847. At Hursley he could not but feel himself to have the rights of a parochial pope. In society he would, as to points of theology, recognise no liberty of discussion. The manner in which his brother Romanizers were accustomed to consult and defer to him could not but aggravate his weakness.

Surely, if these things are so, there is a loud call for evangelical Christians in England to unite against the Romanizing principles and forces found within the Church of England. Within the Church itself the faithful men are greatly weakened by various causes, of which the chief, undoubtedly, is the relics of Popery which survive in the Anglican formularies. Outside the Church the influence of the Congregational Nonconformists in opposition to these evils is greatly neutralized by the imputation of politico-

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ecclesiastical partisanship which arises from their being so largely identified with 'the Liberation Society.' The greater and the more solemn is the responsibility which belongs to Wesleyan Methodists.

Let us clearly understand that Puseyism is essentially Popery; not, like the Laudian movement, Popery revived from its embers in a nation of which the great mass of the people had never really embraced the Reformation, but Popery revived after ages intervening in which England, through all its ranks and classes, had ceased to be Popish, and, with whatever shortcomings, had yet been an enlightened and Protestant nation, delivered alike from the gross superstitions and the spiritual despotism of Rome. The two plague-spots of Puseyism—of High Church Catholicism—are its sacramental perversions, whereby the holy seals of the Christian faith and profession are turned into superstitions; and its dehumanizing doctrine of the confessional. And these two roots of error being once accepted, there is no tenet either of Tridentine or of modern Popery which may not be received. Those who have learned to regard the priest-confessor as the searcher of hearts, and the healer and absolver of the soul, gifted for his office with corresponding attributes and authority from God, need find no difficulty in addressing prayers to the Virgin Mary, or to perfected saints, and can surely find nothing too hard for them in the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, when speaking *ex cathedrâ*, as the 'Vicar of Christ.'

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The Papal infallibility is, in fact, a less revolting tenet than that which invests the parish priest with the prerogative of confessor. And yet, if the priest, by his consecrating act, can bring to pass the sacramental miracles, what wonder if attributes are imputed to him which are much more than merely superhuman? All the landmarks of truth are confused in such a system; all the perspective of things human and divine is lost and confounded; men are no longer to be sanctified through God's Word, which is 'the truth,' but by participation in theurgic mysteries, wrought by the hands of priests. He who has accepted the main roots of the whole system of error in the sacramental and confessional doctrines, need not stumble even at the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. Dr. Pusey said that, if the Gorham controversy had turned against his party, he should have gone over and accepted Popery whole. He need have found no difficulty in doing this at any time. Nor was it at any time a real revulsion from the doctrines of Popery which retained him within the Church of England.

And yet, in honour of this man, a Romanist in principle, who sought and found his favourite spiritual *pabulum* in Roman Catholic books, and his congenial spiritual friends in Roman families in England and Roman houses of devotion abroad—England and English Churchmen are asked to raise a memorial, as the great English Churchman of this century. It is enough for Christian freemen and true evangelicals

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to find charitable excuses for his fatal errors, without joining in a movement for doing the greatest honour to the man who has done more than any other to provoke a reaction of unbelief among the most highly educated classes, and to debase into idolatry the religious enthusiasm of earnest and cultivated Anglicans.

NOTE.

The following reminiscence of Dr. Pusey's own intolerance comes to me from my friend, the Rev. B. Gregory, the accomplished editor of the *Wesleyan Magazine*, and occurred when Mr. Gregory was resident at Oxford. The reminiscence was originally suggested by my description of Dr. Pusey as a preacher (see p. 42):—

'My own recollections of Dr. Pusey,' says Mr. Gregory, 'as he was during the years of my residence in Oxford, enable me to testify to the accuracy of Dr. Rigg's description of him. I think it a matter of historical justice, as illustrating the natural and normal, as well as the traditional effects of Dr. Pusey's tenets, even on truly good and benevolent men, that the fact should not be suppressed of his having proved himself capable of heartless social, more correctly speaking, *domestic* persecution. I allude to a deliberate act of his which came very painfully under my own pastoral cognizance as Superintendent of the Oxford Circuit. A member of my own flock, a remarkably lady-like personage, one of the aristocracy of nature and grace, well known to and much respected by our leading Methodist families in Oxford, who had, for a stretch of years, held a very confidential post in the family of Dr. Pusey's brother; whose membership in the Wesleyan Methodist Society was known when

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she entered the household, and had never been interfered with; who had acted as nurse to Dr. Pusey's brother during his last illness, and had supported him in his very death-throes; who was, moreover, devotedly attached to the family, to whose interests she had devoted herself for so many years, was relentlessly dismissed because she was not mean enough to sacrifice, at the dictation of her new master, and in favour of her worldly prospect and clinging sensibilities, the dearest Church-connections of a lifetime, and her deepmost convictions, rooted in a happy and character-moulding experience. I can never forget the tearful emotion with which that noble Christian woman came to ask for her "note of removal." I of course offered to remonstrate with Dr. Pusey, appealing to a Christian manliness far deeper and higher than this hardening heresy of High Churchism. I was assured that any expostulation on the part of a *schismatic teacher* would be much worse than useless.'

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